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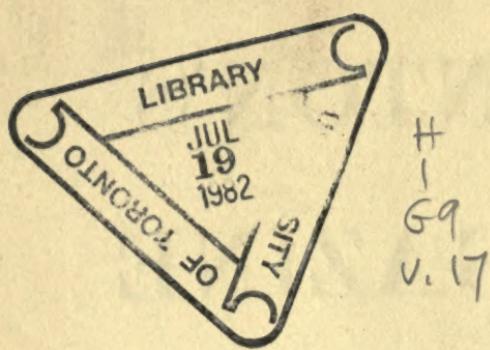
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GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

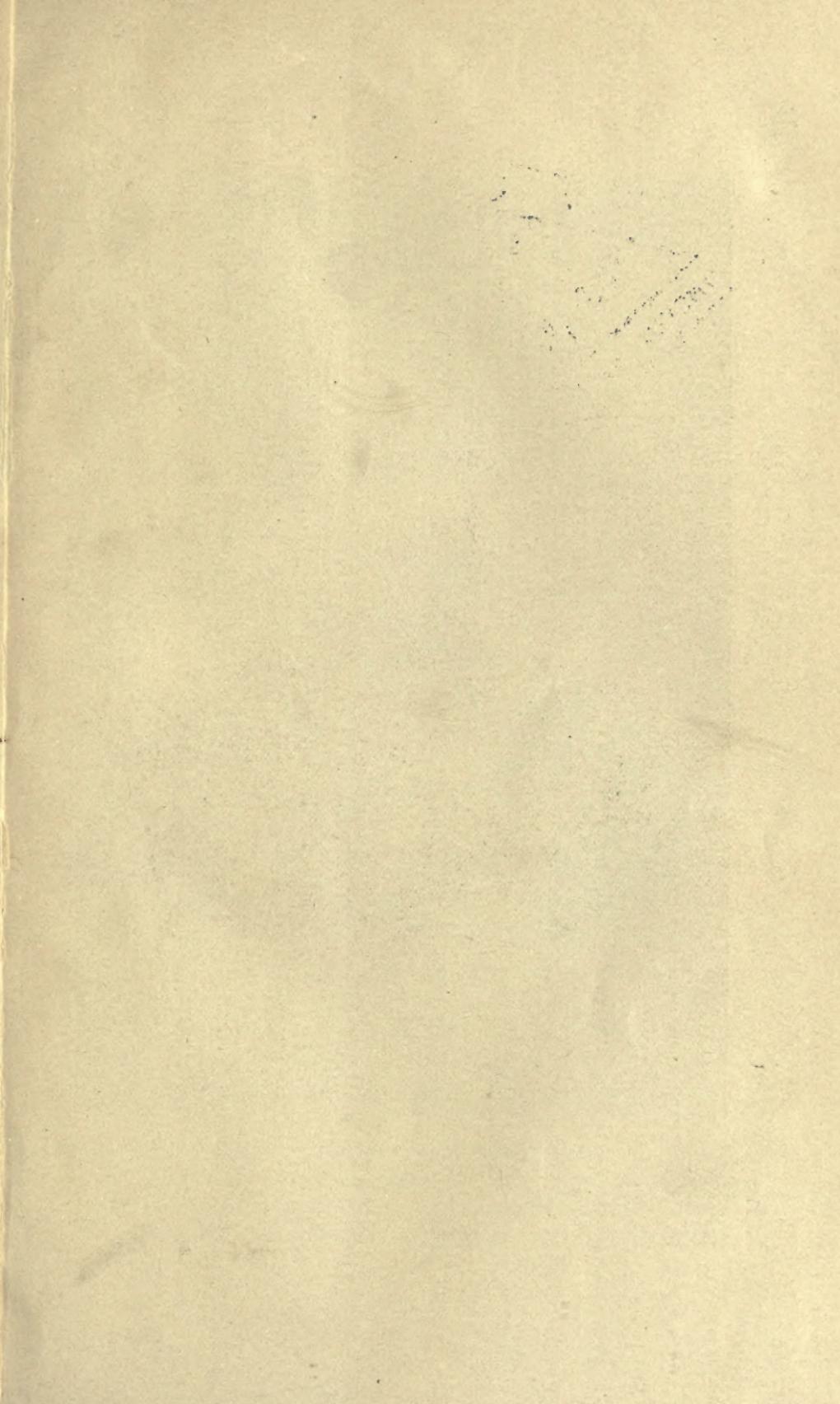
GEORGE GUNTON, EDITOR

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COUNT MICHEL NICOLAIEVITCH MOURAVIEW

Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs
and reputed author of the dis-
armament proposition

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

ECONOMICS AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS THE HAGUE CONFERENCE

The peace conference called by the czar of Russia met at the Hague May 18th. The governments of the leading countries of the world were officially represented, according to the proclamation calling the conference, issued August 28th, 1898. The object was to induce the great powers of the world to modify or at least stop increasing the war armaments of the world. The need of this was very strongly set forth in the czar's proclamation, both from the point of view of the economic conditions and of civilization itself. Recognizing the prevalent doctrine that the way to secure peace is to prepare for war, the czar said:

"It is the better to guarantee peace that they [The Powers] have developed in proportions hitherto unprecedented their military forces, and still continue to increase them, without shrinking from any sacrifice.

"Nevertheless, all these efforts have not yet been able to bring about the beneficent result desired—pacification.

"The economic crisis, due in great part to the system of armaments *a l'outrance* and the continual danger which lies in this massing of war material are transforming the armed peace of our days into a crushing burden, which the peoples have more and more difficulty in bearing."

It is evident from this that the czar and his advisers keenly realized the fact that, besides its deadening effect on industry and progress, this ever increasing preparation for war fails to accomplish the desired end; that it does not materially change the relative fighting power and status of the different nations but increases the burdens with every new military device.

The effect of this growing military armament is so obvious to the czar, through its influence upon the economic and social progress of Russia, that he assumed

that it was equally clear to those responsible for the government in other nations. Accordingly, the czar apparently had great confidence that this opportunity to come to some general agreement to lessen the expenditure for military armaments would be eagerly embraced by the leading countries. All the governments to which the czar's invitation was sent accepted and sent representatives. The conference has been in session just a month, and now the word comes that the czar is very much disappointed, even depressed, by the fact that the conference is nearing a close and has accomplished practically nothing, not even enough it is feared to justify the calling of another conference. It is even intimated that if another conference is called Germany and Austria would decline to be represented.

Of course, it is unfortunate in many respects that the young czar's humane impulses and ambitions should receive such a rude shock, but really the conduct and outcome of the conference is not greatly surprising to students of affairs. It would have been astonishing, nay, almost miraculous if this conference had fulfilled the czar's desire. Of course, to those who expected an agreement upon a definite scheme of disarmament throughout Europe it is an utter failure. It frequently occurs in estimating societary movements that we expect the impossible and hence are disappointed when only the feasible occurs.

Although no definite propositions have been or are likely to be adopted, the conference is not a failure. In the first place, it has brought together the representatives of the great military powers of the world for the specific purpose of lessening the burden of military armaments. Second, it has brought about, if not a frank, at least friendly official interchange of views upon the subject, with the unanimous purpose of lessening the probabilities as well as the havoc and horrors

of war. This of itself is a real step in progress. It has transferred the idea of eliminating militarism from the domain of the individual moralizer to the forum of official international discussion, which is also a real gain.

Of course, it was to be expected that the great powers which have for generations and centuries been military rivals and whose continued existence depended upon their power to furnish more money, men and muskets than their neighbors, should act with great caution, even suspicion, in a general international conference called for the purpose of military disarmament. There are so many ways in which the military strength of nations differ. With one it may be the navy, another the army, another the number of efficient coaling stations, another the power of armed forts. One may have greatly strengthened its military power in certain directions which others have neglected, and vice versa; so that in a multitude of ways it may and probably would appear that no propositions would affect all or perhaps any two countries substantially alike.

It should not be at all surprising, therefore, that the representatives of each nation look with great caution and even suspicion and distrust on every proposition that emanates from the representatives of other nations, and the more so in proportion as these nations have or are likely to have conflicting interests. It was practically impossible, therefore, that any real agreement could be reached at this conference. The most that could reasonably be hoped for was that such a degree of free discussion of the subject should take place as to create confidence in a majority of the nations that there is a general desire to act in good faith on the subject. This having been accomplished, another conference with a more definite object might be expected to follow in the reasonably near future. Whether or not the present

conference entirely accomplishes this, it will have done much to break the diplomatic stiffness by establishing a common ground upon which the question of different nations reducing their military equipments can be discussed with comparative freedom in general conference. It has removed the discussion of the question from sealed secrecy to quasi-public gatherings.

The Hague conference, furthermore, will serve to show with considerable distinctness the state of the military mercury throughout the world. The attitude of the different countries towards propositions like establishing a board of arbitration, the "protection of private property during war," and "treating hospital ships and non-military individuals as neutrals," will register their real status in the peace movement. In taking the initiative in the movement, the czar of Russia has unqualifiedly proclaimed to the world that he is ready and anxious to join in any satisfactory arrangement tending to transform the governments of the world from a threatening military to peaceful industrial relation.

The other two wealthiest, most advanced and altogether most powerful nations represented at the Hague conference are England and the United States. The attitude of these two countries has demonstrated with equal clearness their willingness to aid in any feasible movement in this direction. This has been clearly established by the proposition brought before the conference by the representatives of England and the United States on the questions of arbitration and the protection of private property in war.

According to the somewhat meagre reports received, the strongest objection to these propositions comes from Germany, followed by Austria. Nothing more clearly indicates the line of demarcation between the military and industrial spirit than the attitude on

arbitration. It is worth a good deal to civilization to locate the friends and foes of peaceful industrial civilization. If another conference is called, as it is hoped there will be, and the Emperors of Germany and Austria should decline to send representatives, another step of progress will have been made. Better results will probably be accomplished without them than with them. In that case the friends of peace will be more likely to arrive at a definite understanding. And if the great nations like England, Russia, the United States, with France and the smaller nations like Belgium and Italy, can unite in a peace policy it will be of little account what Austria and Germany may decide to do.

The great object to be accomplished is to establish among the strongest and richest nations of the earth a non-militant policy. Let the friends of peace and industry be united and the divinely appointed war lords would soon become impotent figures on the stage of civilization. Their power for evil would soon be destroyed, and their only alternative would be to fall in line or disappear from the scene of action. No great movement ever waited for unanimous consent. The united demands of one third is always more powerful than the selfish, suspicious distrust of the other two thirds. The union of a half dozen nations, including Russia, England and the United States, could easily determine the policy of the whole world.

The czar should not be disappointed at the outcome of the Hague conference. On the contrary, it is the beginning of a movement which is destined to supersede militarism by industrialism, and to have inaugurated such a movement is better than to be the victor in a thousand battles.

THE GROWTH OF SOCIALISM

Socialism stands for a public policy based on the doctrine that all surplus increments of production, like rent, interest and profits, are robbery of the laboring class; that they are the exploitation of those who produce by those who do not. This theory has been industriously propagated with a semi-religious zeal as the one infallible doctrine of economic and social life, whose ills are to be remedied only by recourse to this radical, not to say revolutionary, policy. In Germany the movement began as early as 1867, in Denmark in 1872, in France 1885, in Switzerland 1890, in Italy and Spain 1893, in Belgium 1894, in Austria, Servia and Great Britain 1895. The flood of immigration from the continent brought the propaganda to the United States, and naturally enough it made its first appearance in New York City. The growth of political socialism, as indicated by the votes for the socialist-labor party in different countries, is as follows:

	France		Germany
1885.....	30,000	1867.....	30,000
1893.....	590,000	1877.....	468,843
1898.....	1,000,000	1884.....	599,990
		1890.....	1,427,298
		1893.....	1,786,738
Belgium		1898.....	2,125,000
1894.....	334,500		
1898.....	534,324		
			Italy
		1893.....	20,000
Denmark		1897.....	134,496
1872.....	315		
1887.....	8,408		
1890.....	17,232	Great Britain	
1895.....	25,019	1895.....	55,000
			Switzerland
Austria			
1895.....	90,000	1890.....	13,500
1897.....	750,000	1896.....	36,468

Although the foundation idea of socialism is that the capitalist system of industry lives and thrives by

robbery, and that the only permanent escape from such unjust conditions is the public ownership of all the means of production, the socialist movement, particularly when it takes on the form of a practical political party, assumes a different character under different conditions. Like all other reformers, when they deal with the practical affairs of real life, socialists are forced ultimately to take on more or less common sense and practical wisdom.

In Germany, for instance, in its early stages, the socialist party was religiously devoted to the single idea of overthrowing the existing industrial plutocracy. It refused to aid in the adoption of remedial legislation, on the ground that such measures only palliated the evil and postponed the day of the great revolution. Nothing but hungry stomachs and exasperating oppression can really move the workingmen to prompt social action. In short, to heap on the agonies is the real way to help along the socialistic millennium. But, as the party became sufficiently strong to elect members to the Reichstag, it began perceptibly to modify its program and advocate practical measures. A prominent German socialist writer, Edward Bernstein, discussing this phase of the subject, recently said:

"A sudden total breakdown of the present manner of production in consequence of the development of society as a whole is not likely. Statistics do not uphold the theory that the large establishments are swallowing up the smaller ones to such an extent that in the end only a few great monopolies will remain which could easily be expropriated by the Social-Democratic state. Socialism, therefore, could not keep its promise if it was placed in power to-morrow. If all political power were in its hands it would, as society is constituted, find itself in the face of a problem it could not solve. Capitalism could not simply be legislated out of existence. . . . Socialism must educate the laboring masses to a sense of their political importance, organize them, form a true democracy, and fight for all reforms which are likely to raise the workingman above his present level and permit the establishment of a genuinely democratic commonwealth."

To-day, in Germany, the socialist party in the Reichstag is comparatively conservative, being little more than an advanced liberal party advocating industrial legislation which, for the most part, has long since been conceded in capitalistic England and in many of the states in this country.

In France the movement is more abstract and visionary, and hence more revolutionary in its temper, because it has taken on less of the responsibility of political party organization. It is in the semi-communistic, firebrand stage of irresponsible eloquence, with practically no concrete political influence.

In England, where socialism was entirely a transplant, it took on still a different aspect. Although London was the birthplace of Marx's book, he having been exiled for his revolutionary proclivities, England never took on the metaphysical aspect of German socialism. There are many reasons for that. The English are very self-confident. They seldom frankly take any idea from another country, especially the continent. No second-hand ideas are knowingly taken on there. Therefore, the idea of socialism in England was not to be advocated as the straight German gospel. It must needs be made over into Fabianism, a sort of an eclectic creed. It took on the character of a municipal reform movement, advocating public ownership of municipal functions conducted under charter franchises. In England, therefore, it has been the municipal radical party, a little more progressive and more definitely identified with the interests of the laboring class than the liberal party. In proportion as the Fabian or socialist party has directed its efforts to specific reforms, like better housing of the city poor, increasing the public parks and free museums, opening them on Sundays, and extending the system of free popular education through the county councils, it has

grown in strength and popularity. In short, it has become a real power in proportion as it has favored sensible measures and accomplished practical good results.

The socialist movement is very different in this country. It is a complete transplant from the European continent, mainly from Germany, by the means of immigration. Nearly everything the socialists in Germany are asking for was accomplished here before the socialists arrived, but they found the capitalist system in vogue. Naturally, their only starting place here was a broad declaration against the capitalist system and a demand for its overthrow.

For a time socialism existed only as an organized protest against the capitalist system *per se*. While theoretically it is opposed to anarchism, it aided and abetted all anarchistic demonstrations whether in the use of physical force by strikers or throwing bombs by proclaimed anarchists. In the latter '80's, however, it began to organize for political action, and entered the field as an official political party in New York in 1890. It gradually extended its area of operations as a voting entity, nominating candidates in three states in 1891, six in 1892, four in 1893, nine in 1894, eleven in 1895, twenty in 1896, twenty-two in 1897 and twenty-five in 1898, with a slowly increasing vote, as shown in the following table:—

States	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898
Alabama.....								344
California.....						1,611	1,726	7,780
Colorado.....					158	160	1,444	1,796
Connecticut.....	329			870		1,223	1,223	2,866
Illinois.....						1,147	1,147	4,527
Indiana.....						324	324	1,795
Iowa.....				537		453	910	1,081
Kansas.....								646
Kentucky.....							68	394
Maine.....					83		
Maryland.....		315			403	587	508	508
Massachusetts.....	1,429	676	2,033	3,104	3,249	2,114	6,301	10,063
Michigan.....					358	297	2,166	1,101
Minnesota.....						867	867	1,687
Missouri.....				1,631	1,537		596	596
Nebraska.....						186	186	248
New Hampshire.....						228	228	407
New Jersey.....	472	1,338	2,018	5,309	4,147	3,985	4,360	5,458
New York*.....	14,651	17,956	19,984	15,868	21,497	17,667	20,854	23,860
Ohio.....					470	1,867	1,167	4,242
Pennsylvania.....		898			1,733	1,329	1,683	5,048
Rhode Island.....					592	1,730	558	1,386
Texas.....								562
Utah.....							124
Vermont.....						48		
Virginia.....							108	528
Washington.....								528
Wisconsin.....							1,314	1,314
	16,552	21,512	25,666	30,020	34,869	36,275	55,550	82,204

*In New York, 1890, the vote was 13,704.

As a political factor the socialist party in this country exercises no appreciable influence on public policy. It has not elected a single congressman, governor or state senator, only one or two members of state legislatures, and one mayor. As a political party it is really nothing more than an organized propaganda. The voting socialists constitute only 1.8 to each thousand of our population, as compared with 17.93 to the thousand in Austria, 23.85 to the thousand in Servia, 40.66 to the thousand in Germany and 88.61 to the thousand in Belgium.

The socialism that is most threatening in this country is not the socialism of the socialist party, but the much less intelligent and conscientious socialism of opportunist politicians and sentimental reformers who are not familiar with the principles of socialism nor with the economic character of modern society. This kind of socialism has taken the form of an indefinite, unintelligent crusade against wealth. It is governed by no principles of economics, politics, or public policy. With many it takes the form of attacking railroads and banks; with others, opposition to trusts, not because they understand the economic character of the trust movement but because it affords an opportunity to appeal to the prejudices of the masses against the capitalists.

Next to politicians and sensational journals, ministers have contributed most largely to this unwholesome phase of socialistic sentiment. Many of them joined the movement honestly in the interests of labor and public welfare, but with scant information on the subject. They are not demagogical but painfully superficial and sentimental, and under the pressure of the best intentions have aided a disintegrating movement. Some of the better informed clergy are beginning to take alarm at the sweeping, unintelligent character the movement is assuming.

In a recent issue of the *Outlook* (May 13) Rev. Washington Gladden sounds a note of warning in an article on "The Spread of Socialism."

After noting the great extent and rapidity with which large corporations are forming and reforming, he says: "About all this it is necessary to form reasonable and temperate judgments. It is impossible to believe that a tendency so universal and irresistible is wholly irrational or wholly unsocial. It must be grounded in economic and moral necessities. It must be the product of causes which we ought to under-

stand, and with which we may be able to co-operate." This is exceptionally sound reasoning, and we hasten to congratulate Dr. Gladden on the progress he has made towards rational judgment on this subject.

In the early stages of the anti-trust movement Dr. Gladden was among the most pessimistic prophets. It is a great step towards wholesome economic thinking to recognize the fact that: "It is impossible to believe that a tendency so universal and irresistible is wholly irrational or wholly unsocial." That is really a safe standpoint from which to judge in the abstract any social institution. An universal and irresistible tendency in society can never be "wholly irrational or wholly unsocial."

It is further encouraging to note that Dr. Gladden recognizes that the movement of centralization of capital is really the movement of greater economy in production, less waste and destruction of "industrial war." His chief objection to trusts now appears to be in the extravagance of their capitalization, and in this Mr. Gladden is entirely right. This is the one real danger in the present trust movement. It is not at all a criticism of the trust principle, but of the management of the re-organization. The reason for this is that the organization of trusts during the last year has passed from the hands of productive capitalists into the hands of speculators. It has become largely a matter of brokerage rather than of industrial organization. This is all wrong, it is uneconomic, is inimical to the business of the country, and may cause a reaction to the serious detriment of business prosperity. There never will be a time when wind and water will be a safe substitute for capital as a business investment. Receiverships may be necessary to squeeze out the wind and water that speculating re-organizations put in. This defeats the real object of the trust. The economic justification of the

trusts is, as Dr. Gladden admits, to economize in the cost of production and thus be able to give more profit to capital while furnishing the product at a less cost to the community. This over-stock issuing (mis-called capitalization) may make it necessary even to raise prices in order to give ordinary returns to the capital as represented by the stock. Such a movement has no justification in economics, ethics or public policy.

But this speculative over-capitalizing policy should not be confounded with the legitimate trust movement. They are as unlike as production and gambling. The industrial trust is an economic, wholesome, social benefactor. The speculative trust is a business-disturbing, confidence-destroying disrupter of industry. Yet, in judging this re-organization and increase of stock, we must not be too sweeping and caustic. In this respect Dr. Gladden hardly lives up to the standard he erected, that: "About all this it is necessary to form reasonable and temperate judgments."

It must be recognized that in the re-organization, if it is undertaken in a genuine economic spirit, greater savings are to be accomplished, otherwise the effort would not be worth while. It is a mistake, it is uneconomic, to ask or expect that the capitalists will give all this economy to the public. The public is not entitled to it all. The most that can be expected or ought to occur is that the public should share the benefits. Take away all hope of exceptional profits and you destroy the incentive for the exceptional efforts and investment which the introduction of machinery, re-organization of industry, and extensive experimentation involve.

Dr. Gladden concedes that the trusts have a right to "a fair compensation for the use of capital actually invested," but denounces all above that as monopolistic effort to get something for nothing, which, he declares, "means a determination to extort from the public

money for which no equivalent has been given. . . . It is simply a method of levying tribute." This is altogether too sweeping and indiscriminate to be either rational or correct. This is only true when trusts increase the price of products, which in reality is very seldom. It may be taken for granted that those who created the economy will want and at first will have much the larger share of the economy, as in the case of a new invention. But, through the operation of competitive forces, taxes for public improvement, demands for shorter hours of labor, and increase of wages, the new surplus will be gradually transferred until it all ultimately passes to the community.

After indulging at considerable length in description of the wrath to come, Dr. Gladden says: "Such is the conflict which we are preparing for ourselves. I do not pretend to know exactly how it is coming out, but I know that the seeds of madness and violence are being sown broadcast every day, and the harvest is coming sure and soon. Such a gigantic attempt to bind burdens upon the whole community of consumers must provoke a violent reaction. These billions of watered stock are simply a legalized demand upon the people for contributions of their substance to those who have given them nothing in exchange. The feudal lords of the olden time made no more unjust demand. It will not be endured. And there is terrible danger that these injustices will be swept away by a whirlwind of popular wrath." He then quotes Professor Albion W. Small, head of the department of sociology of Chicago University, thus: "In this age of so-called democracy we are getting to be the thralls of the most relentless system of economic oligarchy that history has thus far recorded. That capital from which most of us directly or indirectly get our bread and butter is becoming the most undemocratic, atheistic, and inhuman of all the

heathen divinities. . . . These very business men, who claim a monopoly of practical ‘horse sense,’ have involved themselves and all of us in a grim tragedy. They are asking in a quiet way how it is all going to end. Whether they realize it or not, our vision of freedom is passing into the eclipse of universal corporate compulsion in the interest of capital. The march of human progress is getting reduced to marking time in the lock-step of capital’s chain-gang. It would make infinitely more for human weal if every dollar of wealth was cleaned off the earth, if we could have instead of it industry and homes, and justice and love and faith, than to be led much further into the devil’s dance of capitalization.”

This is the kind of stuff that we need more to fear than anything that capitalists or socialists are doing. No corporation or monopoly has ever done anything so well calculated to breed revolution and unintelligent obstruction to progress as the utterance of heated empty eloquence of the sort thus issued from the head of the sociology department in Chicago University. When men occupying such positions rave and rant like this, what is to be expected of yellow journals and ignorant laborers? This is the kind of dangerous socialism that is growing in this country. It is not the organized socialists, who believe and preach a consistent economic doctrine, who are sowing the seeds of social disruption that may some day menace the safety of property and threaten free government itself. It is not the “present tendencies in the business world,” but the appealing to prejudice, inflaming the masses, and practically misrepresenting the real nature of the case, that is “carrying us toward socialism at a tremendous pace.” The Bryans, Gladdens and Smalls are truly the blind leading the blind, and if we land in the ditch of disruption it will be they and not the business tendencies or the scientific socialists that are to blame.

MASTERS AND SLAVES

GEORGE H. OPDYKE

In an address on trusts, delivered before a large audience in Cooper Union, New York, not long ago, Governor Pingree made this gloomy prophecy:

"Harsh as it may sound, the trust will divide the people of this country into sharply defined classes, masters and slaves. The tendency of the trust is to place all business in the hands of a few men whose only ability lies in their power to make money. All employees will be subject to these men and they will be treated as tools to do the bidding of their mercenary masters. It needs no prophet or philosopher to predict what effect this will have upon the independence of the people. Men cannot be machines and free men at the same time."

Some of the papers printed this paragraph in heavy type. The applause with which it was received left no doubt as to the impressions made on "Cooper Union packed with people."

"Masters and Slaves!" Alarming condition, indeed! A condition, if true, as alarming to the "masters" as to the "slaves." If not really true, but only believed to exist, even that is a condition alarming enough to demand our serious attention. As much blood has been spilled in this world over grievances fancied as real; nor have the fellows that have done the fancying always been the under dogs in the fight.

The world at large is not so much interested in the question of whether every man is master or slave, as of whether every man is getting the best possible pay for his services and the best possible goods for his money. Whether these come to him as employee or employer really affects nothing but his pride. If we could convince every employee that he is actually realizing these

happy conditions, this little matter of his pride would hardly stand in our way.

But it has ever been a difficult matter to persuade the man who works for another that he is getting the full equivalent of his labor. Working for himself, the problem is simple. He holds undisputed title to the whole product. This may compensate him for his labor spent, or it may not. In any event he harbors no grudge against his employer. But, working for another, the calculation is far from simple. He certainly does not receive the whole product, but does he receive his rightful share? This question will be asked as long as there remains on earth one man to work for another.

From the injustice of underpaid service to the injustice of slavery is not a great step in reasoning. Let a laborer feel that he is not getting his share of the wealth produced, and he is easily inflamed by hints of "white slavery." And, as long as we have laborers who feel, rightly or wrongly, that they are thus underpaid, so long will we have laborers applauding the vaporings of demagogism and ready to follow unreliable leaders. These constitute a real menace to our industrial institutions.

In any consideration of appropriate remedies, of course the first and most important factors will always be just wages and humane treatment. But the disease is many-sided, and additional remedies are indicated; something, for instance, directed particularly to this slavery side of the question. Anything that will make less of the "slave" and more of the "master" is a move in the right direction. To this end an increased participation of the employee in the sphere of the employer is desirable; not only that he may feel that his under-pay as employee is supplemented by his profit as employer, but also that he may feel that he has

some such hand in the legislation and administration of industrial affairs as he now enjoys in affairs political. This does not mean that every employee would demand, or desire, to take his turn in the pilot-house, charged with the entire direction of the industrial ship, any more than every citizen demands a term in the White House to direct the affairs of state. It is only contended here that if it be conducive to the stability of our political institutions to extend to the governed the right to participate in the governing, there seems to be no good reason why this same principle should not apply in a general way to our industrial institutions.

But a theory is one thing, to apply it another. Here objections innumerable present themselves. At the outset we have to face the whole gamut of objections urged from time immemorial against the democratization of government. These, however, need not be regarded as serious in the light of recent experiment. That we have gone too far in the extension of political suffrage is an opinion prevailing in some quarters, and a tendency may already be noted to restrict within certain limitations. If these exclude the ignorant, lazy and vicious, such a tendency can be nothing but wholesome. The essential thing to be kept in view is a suffrage wide enough to insure stability to our political institutions, with every reasonable opportunity to the governed to participate in the privilege of governing. And this is all that is contended for in respect to our industrial institutions. Not that an emancipation proclamation is desired, bestowing on every employee equal economic suffrage; nor that every employee would want or should have such a right; all that is demanded is the right to win that right.

But there is another line of objections not so easily

disposed of; and here, experimentation goes only to strengthen their potency. These are the objections commonly urged against socialism. When we enter the field of industrial enterprise and begin to apply the theory of equal suffrage, we have results far from reassuring. We discover that we cannot safely reason from political to industrial activities. This is evidently due to the greater complexity of the latter. To place in the hands of employees the selection of men and of methods puts a premium on mediocrity and stunts the development of industries. This is a serious objection—serious enough to be fatal to socialism. But it will be observed that this objection is directed only to the principle of equal suffrage. As before stated, this is not asked for nor even desired. What is demanded is but equal opportunity. This means that the employee's share in dividing and directing must be exactly proportioned to the employee's share in the enterprise; no more, no less. This means that if he subscribes a one-hundredth part of the capital necessary to an enterprise, he is entitled to a one-hundredth share of the management and profits; no more, no less. This means then, you say, simply the rights already secured the subscriber in any of the present day stock companies. But that is just what it does not mean.

In the stock companies of the present day and generation the rights secured to the subscriber who happens to own less than a half or controlling interest are not worth an ordinary day's wages. In these companies, as manipulated to-day, the rights of the minority stockholder hang upon the slenderest of threads—the tender mercies of the majority holders. And how often this thread breaks we all know, and with it—the breaking of banks, of bank accounts, of human hearts. Does the laboring man of to-day put his hard earned savings in the stocks of corporations and trusts? He

might do it in many cases and do well. But how many care to take the chances? They would rather risk their little savings in a bucket shop or a "corner lot" in Cuba, thus falling easy prey to the wiles of cheats and swindlers. But, they may as well be swindled one way as another. All the swindlers are not in the bucket shops, or selling "corner lots" in Cuba. Men in high places, men at the head and front of great industrial organizations, men who have the power to enlist in the promotion of industrial activities not only the savings of the laboring classes now hid in corners or diverted to uneconomic uses, but—what is more important—their active sympathy and moral support; these men—what make they of their opportunities? With brazen effrontery they rob the poor of their little savings, they mock at the wailing of widows and orphans, they ride like Juggernaut over the rights of all who have not the strength to oppose them, and—the result? One does not need to look into the clouds to find it.

The result, however, might be very different were it not for the wide divergence of theory and practice. The principle upon which stock companies are based is an excellent one and affords the employee a fair opportunity to become an employer. But the principle upon which these companies are operated is an outrageous one and has long been a stench in the nostrils of all men. Here indeed is an inviting field for the legislative reformer. Let him devote the same energies now directed against trusts to the elimination of dishonest methods in trusts. Let him inveigh not against organized capital but against organized deceit. He has thrown the protecting arm of the law around the small bank depositor and the small policy holder. Why not extend it to include the small investor and stockholder?

Rightly considered, here lies a real land of promise. If once the laboring man could see that he had

some part and parcel in these great integrations of capital, if he could hold in his hand but a single share of stock in one of these giant enterprises and know that his rights as a stockholder were as safe as his rights as a citizen; if he could feel that he, too, was one of the directors and joint heirs of industrial enterprise, one of the "masters,"—behold the demagogue's occupation gone. Behold the lines dividing classes vague and disappearing. Behold the slave become at length the master, even as the whilom serf has become the citizen and ruler.

It is not necessary at present to enlarge upon the uses and abuses of stock companies. The great good that might flow from their proper use is obvious enough. Their abuses have long been a by-word among investors, but evidently, before the former can be realized or the latter properly corrected, legislation will need to step in. Much as legislation may be deplored, it is plainly the lesser of two evils. If the small stockholder finds no protection in the honor of officers and directors, he will have to seek his protection in the severity of the law. And if officers and directors abuse their trust they can make no complaint if relieved of their trust, if placed under bonds, under the necessity of frequent accounting by a system of checks and balances that will properly safeguard the interests of all. The nature and form of such legislation may safely be left to the wisdom of the legislators. It is sufficient here to point out certain diseased conditions. Let the knife fall where it may.

EDITORIAL REJOINDER

The terms "masters and slaves," "white slaves," etc., are used for sensational purposes by flippant politicians and have no place in the serious discussion of wage conditions. A slave is a person who is the legal property of another, and is not a wage-worker at all. Nothing is to be gained by the Pingree method of calling wage laborers "slaves" and employers "masters." It is intended to inflame the feelings rather than enlighten the mind. It is demagogery and not to be taken seriously. As Mr. Opdyke suggests, however, it will call forth the applause of a Cooper Union audience.

The question to which Mr. Opdyke really calls attention in the above article is not a question of "slavery" or "masters and slaves," but a question of relative poverty or wealth for the laboring class. The reason of the American laborers' discontent is not that they are "slaves," but that they are poor. It is not that their employers are "masters," but that their wages are too low; and anybody who, like Governor Pingree, tries to ring the changes on the wrong adjective is likely to hinder rather than help the real improvement of the laboring class. Recognizing this fact our correspondent says: "In any consideration of appropriate remedies, of course the first and most important factors will always be just wages and humane treatment." No, not just wages but higher wages. The justice of the wages depends upon the equity of the amount paid to labor as compared with the value of the product and the profits of the employer; but the welfare of the laborers depends upon the amount of wages. Low wages are not always more unjust than high wages. The employers of Russia and Germany are not more unjust than the employers of the United States, though they frequently pay less than a quarter the American wages. But while they pay lower wages they do not get larger profits than

American employers. The ten-shillings a week for English agricultural labor does not necessarily involve greater injustice than does the five to seven dollars a day for locomotive engineers on our railroads. But it does involve greater poverty and degradation and a lower state of intelligence, political power and civilization. On the score of justice between employer and laborer the scales probably stand quite as evenly in China as in the United States; but the whole standard is much lower.

Strictly speaking, then, it is not the injustice of the wages but their smallness that is really the subject of consideration. Humane treatment always comes with higher wages, because high wages always tend to produce a higher type of man. The more intelligent and socially developed the individual laborer the more humane treatment is he sure to receive. Employers are always more respectful to high-paid than to low-paid laborers, because high-paid laborers are really superior individuals.

Whether the laborers would be benefited by participating in the management of business would depend upon whether the business would yield more, so as to give him higher wages, by his so doing. If the laborer's faculty for business management is superior to the capitalist's, then there would be a definite improvement by his being admitted to participate in the management of the enterprise; but all experience points in the other direction. There have been a great many experiments of laborers participating in the management of productive enterprises, and thus far the record is only failure. In England the experiment was very extensive, including over a hundred large cotton factories. The voice of the laborer who owned a single one-pound (\$5.00) share counted as much in the management as the vote of the capitalist who owned five hundred

shares. This was democracy in industry; but it was ruinous. In order to save these concerns from going into bankruptcy, every one of them had to be converted into joint-stock companies in which shareholders voted according to stock and not according to noses.

Mr. Opdyke suggests that "if it be conducive to the stability of our political institutions to extend to the governed the right to participate in the governing, there seems to be no good reason why this same principle should not apply in a general way to our industrial institutions." The difference is very radical. Democracy in political government may do a great many foolish things, may make innumerable mistakes, may fail to make improvements that might otherwise be accomplished. We may have a bungling banking system and have panics more frequently than necessary. But this is not fatal to the political institutions.

The case of industry is quite different. The failure to administer an industrial enterprise successfully means bankruptcy, which is death to that enterprise. What Mr. Opdyke, and everybody else who is really interested in the welfare of laborers and the all-round progress of society, desires is that the laborers who do so much of the world's drudgery shall have more of the advantages of civilization; that they shall be better housed and better conditioned, more intelligent, more moral and more independent, and hence receive more "humane treatment." All this depends upon the laborers' industrial condition. Poverty means little or none of these advantages. They all come gradually to be sure, but certainly, with the increase of wealth to the laborer.

The whole question, then, of the laborer's condition turns upon wages. Therefore, the true way to legislate for the improvement of the laborer is not to pass laws which shall make him a joint director of factories,

but to direct our social and legislative influence towards improving the conditions under which laborers live and work. By so doing we increase the number of educational influences that act upon his mind and character, and thus raise his standard and increase his cost of living, which is the only sure way of permanently increasing his wages. Such legislation, for instance, is needed as shall secure the minimum length of the working day, the best sanitary conditions surrounding the factories and workshops, raise the standard for house building, so that the maximum of cultivating attractions and helpful influences shall surround the home; improve the educational opportunities for children, beginning the public school system at a younger age with the kindergarten and extending it to a later age through the high school; and thus steadily increase the social influences which have an educational effect upon the laborer's life. This is the direct road to the expansion of the man, and by the expansion of the man the expansion of his wages, the influence of his opinion, and the recognition of his social and political as well as economic rights are sure to come.

Of course, there is no reason why laborers should not own stock in corporations which employ them, or which do not for that matter. This, however, is a question of investment. If, by the purchase of stock in a cotton factory or a railroad or a trust, laborers can get more for their little saving than in the savings bank or in government bonds or in building and loan societies, why of course it is to their interest to buy the stock in the corporation, but the idea that their position can be appreciably improved by their influence upon the administration of the corporations through such stock-owning is visionary. If laborers want to own stock in corporations, their chance of large returns will be very much greater if they invest in corporations where large

capitalists control than where laborers control, because the probability of success would be very much greater. Stock in the Standard Oil Company is a very much safer investment than in any company managed by workingmen. The dividend is morally certain to be large, and the permanence of the enterprise is scarcely less safe than the United States Government.

Mr. Opdyke raises the point that something needs to be done to secure minority stockholders, the implication being that the managing stockowners somehow contrive to swindle the small stockholders. That is only true when speculative concerns are organized. It is true in the manipulations of Wall Street. But that is not investment, it is gambling. It is well that gamblers frequently lose. If they lost oftener it would be better,—there would be less gambling. The judicious investor who wants really to place his little savings where they will bring some return should not go to Wall Street, but buy stock in well-established concerns. The investor in the New York Central or Standard Oil Company runs no risk as a minority stockholder, but draws his dividends with as much certainty as he does his wages. There is really nothing in the management of a permanent corporation that can swindle the minority stockholders for the benefit of the majority, because all the stockholders suffer from small dividends. The only thing that can occur in that connection is the voting of exorbitant salaries and expenditures of that kind; but even then only a few persons can have an interest in it, and that does not occur in well-established corporations.

There is no reason why any law should insure laborers against foolish investments. If they go into a building and loan society, which is thoroughly democratic, and lose all by the general bad management, no law could or should protect them. That is a part of

their experience in management. Investments should be free. Conditions of labor where no management is involved, like working for wages, should be protected on every side possible. All the conditions favorable to cheerful work, wholesome sanitation, proper treatment, and every other condition over which the laborer has no control, should be vouchsafed by the community through legislation; but when the laborer has a hundred dollars no law should surround him differently from any other man who has a thousand or a million. When he becomes an investor he becomes a capitalist, and he must develop the wisdom of a capitalist or he will probably lose his capital.

There is one feature, however, regarding the financial condition of the laborers that legislation could affect, affect universally, permanently and with the greatest social advantage. That is in the matter of insurance. It is perfectly feasible to adopt a national system of labor insurance, by which insurance against accident, sickness and old age can be guaranteed every laborer from the hour he begins work till his death. Moreover, insurance has come to be a part of modern life. Capitalists, business men, professional people, all have recourse to it. The laborers, for a multitude of reasons, cannot. Two per cent. of the wages paid would furnish moderate insurance for sickness, liberal insurance for accident, and two-thirds full wages from the age of sixty-five till death for every laborer in the United States. This could, by legislation, become an automatic thing, and it would do very much to mitigate the nightmare of the laborers' life, which is the anticipation of poverty in old age. Government can deal with it, effectively and universally for the country. All that is required is that a system be adopted by which every employer should pay a sum equal to two per cent. of his payroll into a national insurance fund. This two

per cent. would become a part of the capitalist's normal cost of production, and would be no more optional on his part than his taxes or the price of his raw material.

A little of this is already done by a few railroad corporations, but the difficulty is that if the laborer leaves his job he loses his insurance, and that does interfere with the laborer's freedom. If the system were universal and imposed by the government, the laborer would be under absolutely no obligation to the employer, for if he left one employer and went to another, though he was transferred from one end of the country to the other, it would make no difference. His insurance payment begins immediately his work begins, so that, wherever he is, when he reaches the retiring age or when he unfortunately meets with accident, his insurance premium has been paid, it is in the hands of the United States Government, and is as secure as the government itself. It is not a charity, it is not in any way paternal, but it is an economic investment for the laborers' insurance, and it is economically just. It is incorporating into the wage system, which is the inevitable system of employment, a feature of insurance which guarantees to the laborer that his working years shall furnish him a living all his life, and that, because of the dislocation through the very progressive development of industry, the laborer whose work has been given to wealth production shall not be converted into a pauper. This is a feasible and thoroughly economic proposition which legislation can safely and efficiently effect. It would introduce far more stability, economic certainty, and personal freedom into the laborer's life than any amount of small stock-owning in large corporations could ever do.

IS PRIZE MONEY DEMORALIZING ?

THOMAS KILBY SMITH

The enemy having been vanquished, the victorious chiefs, the men of action, are now turning to the judiciary, the men of contemplation, to make distribution of the spoils of war. The navy is waiting for the courts to pronounce upon the question as to who is to have head money and prize money, and how much is to be distributed. Incidentally we shall have some interesting questions settled and shall learn officially who is the hero of the day and how much is to be his material reward. Under the Bowman act the prize cases arising from the late war with Spain have just now reached the court of claims.

In the meanwhile the army is looking on patiently, no doubt chafing a little at the thought that they too can have no share in the plunder. But it has long been the rule with this country, as with other civilized nations, to curb the greed of the soldier and encourage the sailor with tempting morsels of plunder and with head money, so as to ensure his exerting his last efforts towards destroying the enemy's commerce. We can see for ourselves the injustice of this custom, but since it has brought about very favorable results in the army, we are prompted to believe that it would be as well to institute an uniform rule for the army and navy alike, and turn over to the state the value of all property taken from the enemy.

As Kent observes in the first part of his commentaries (on page 100): "The right to all captures vests primarily in the Sovereign, and no individual can have any interest in a prize whether made by a public or private armed vessel, but what he receives under the grant of the state."

The situation with the army is not in any degree so complicated as the naval arrangement. The soldier

gets no additional reward, no matter how rich the captures may be. There have been confiscations under legal enactments but the proceeds of these confiscations have never officially redounded to the enrichment of the army. The 58th Article of War of the United States says that all legal captures on land belong to the United States, and the commanding officer must render an account of them.

In the case of the navy, the prize law under which our forces are at present operating is the Act of June 30, 1864, passed within ten days of the British Prize Act. (Rev. St. U. S. Title 211 p. 297.) Its application is general to all captures made by authority of the United States or ratified by the president. Such captures must be sent with all the ship's papers, log book, and inventory of cargo, to the court of appropriate jurisdiction, together with the captain, supercargo, and any other officer or party in interest who may be valuable as a witness, as to title, nationality or destination of the prize. After arriving in port, or if unfit for the voyage, having been surveyed and appraised under the supervision of the court, the prize is either appropriated for government use or sold. The proceeds of the sale are deposited with the most accessible assistant United States treasurer, for future distribution as prize money, or for the pension fund. All claimants, either captors or those who assisted, must file their papers with the court when the ship is condemned.

It is the duty of the prize master on bringing in his prize, with all due care, to place the ship papers with the prize commissioners, report the capture to the district attorney and place the witnesses under the charge of the United States marshal. It is the duty of the prize master to retain the custody of the prize pending the finding of the court. Special counsel may be appointed when the nature of the case requires it, to look to

the interest of the navy pension fund and of the captor; this however is not usual, as the district attorney is the proper counsel and as such he conducts all prize cases and makes a regular three-monthly return to the secretary of the navy. The prize commissioners are appointed by the court; there are three, one retired navy officer and two lawyers, and they take testimony under specific rules which are embodied in the Act. Besides being the custodian of the witnesses, the marshal must oversee the safe-keeping of the prize, and he must, from time to time, make report of all his doings to the secretary of the navy.

Where prizes are taken for the use of the government, the department to whom the property goes must compensate the captors by making over the value to the assistant treasurer. If for any reason dictated by the necessities of the occasion a prize should not be sent in for adjudication, then the proceedings occur in any court which the secretary of the navy may determine, and where a prize is or is not brought in and such adjudication has not occurred, then the parties in interest may in any district file a motion to show cause why such proceedings should not be instituted. As for the turning over of the specific capture to any claimant, it is never done, save under special cases and under rules set out.

The sale of prize property depends to a large extent on its nature, as to whether it is perishable, expensive to maintain, or deteriorating; and hence, when any of these conditions warrant, a speedy sale may occur or a sale in a foreign district under the marshal of the district of trial. When a sale occurs in a foreign district the proceeds go to the custody of the nearest assistant treasurer; either the court or the secretary of the navy having the right to settle the place of sale. The proceeds of the sale, as has been said before, are

distributed according to the relative strength of the captor and captured, as provided in the act of 1800; the idea probably being to encourage small ships to make large efforts; hardly a prudent policy. A bounty of from one to two hundred dollars per man on the enemy's ship is provided for the officers and men of the ship which sinks or destroys an enemy. This money must come entirely from public funds, there being no actual property captured from which to raise such a bounty, the enemy's ship being a total wreck. Thousands of dollars are now payable for the sinking of Admiral Cervera's fleet. Monies due privateers go directly to the claimants from the court, and not through the treasury. In all cases thirty days is allowed for appeals.

Whatever may be said of the policy or the main principles of this act, it is certainly very complete and leaves no room for anything in the nature of a piratical capture. It protects neutrals and allies from mistaken captures and makes seamen more careful in their treatment of goods. Such a law, although perhaps inconsistent with the primary purposes of war, is most useful in preventing wanton destruction, as captors see their own welfare ahead of a profitable sale of undamaged articles.

This discrimination between sea and land soldiers would excite considerable sympathy did we not deplore the system of allowing personal profit from the fruits of war in any branch of the service. With this thought in view we can see how much might be attained by adopting a new course, placing all soldiers and sailors on the same basis, and allowing success or failure to make no pecuniary difference to any one save the state. Both at court and at the front we can find the effects of this one-sided system of rewards, and while much good in individual instances may be found, the general char-

acter of results is deplorable; particularly as reflected in the rivalries and dissensions so sure to arise where material advantages are expected to accrue. Greed, to which it caters, taints with its blighting selfishness the noblest sentiment,—patriotism; and the soldier under its influence deteriorates into a robber, the sailor into a pirate. It serves to stimulate in the hearts of those who look for wealth a feeling of personal animosity towards the enemy which modern war, unlike earlier struggles, has not exhibited. With the modern soldier there is a generosity toward the adversary which discourages pillage or destruction and raises war to a higher plane.

One other disadvantageous result of the present one-sided system is the jealousy which is bound to exist between the one who is paid the extra reward and the one who is not; hence the service is torn asunder and there is lack of the unity so essential to success. There has always existed more or less feeling between the land and naval forces of this country, and the same is probably true elsewhere. In the civil war the head of one force would in many cases assume for his arm of the service vast credit, to the utter ignoring of the existence of the other, the report of the commander of which often presented a similar slur. We cannot but sympathize with the soldier when we realize that by some happy fortune his maritime brother may be handsomely enriched after a successful encounter, when he, having perchance conquered the most opulent of provinces, is expected to claim nothing beyond the meagre hire stipulated in the enlistment contract. (Compare the army at Santiago receiving nothing, with the navy and its prize money.) Confining our thoughts to the navy alone we find a similar situation. Certain ships assigned to profitable expeditions, or stationed along the courses of rich commerce, may reap for their crews vast profits, while other seamen may sustain no end of

hardship, and return from their battle with the elements as empty-handed as when they went out. What an excellent opportunity for the assigning power to repay political favors and maintain high place by a judicious war policy! Political wars will be as popular in the future as in the past.

Colonel H. L. Scott, Late Inspector-General, U.S.A., remarks that the lack of a systematic distribution of booty money in the army has been regretted. He says in his Military Dictionary, on page 98: "No practice can be more wise and just, for although it is necessary to proscribe marauding and pillage, it is impossible to extirpate the desire of gain from the human heart, and it is, therefore, necessary that the law should frankly provide for an equitable distribution of captures among the army." His conclusion may be correct as to the impossibility of extirpating greed from the human heart, but as to whether the gratification of the weakness is going to prevent pillage there is no doubt that he is wrong. He says that despoiling a people or city is barbarous and not tolerated by civilized warfare, then continues by adding a list of articles which may lawfully be taken. I wonder if, when troops felt that their prize money was to be measured by the gross receipts from the sales of their captures, they would remain within such bounds? In the English army there is a system of booty money, in France the laws are silent on the subject, but the soldiers have a share of their captures. The English budget of 1813 claimed over a million pounds for captures by the army in Spain and France. These wars constitute the most shocking exceptions to the modern customs which have sought to leave unmolested the non-combatants. So much for legalized profits. Soldiers inspired by the kind of disinterested patriotism which hopes for no personal profits render the highest type of efficient service. There is

then no such thing as the mental problem presented where a soldier or sailor has to choose between a profitable capture and an unprofitable service to the state. The Roman soldiers brought in their plunder, which was sold and the proceeds divided among the members of the army according to their donations of captures; but with the advance of civilization pillage was reduced to only such articles as were useful to the public, and with a few startling exceptions modern chiefs have withheld the hand of the warrior from the temptation to gratify the sordid desire for spoil.

The Peninsular War, as Napier shows, and to which I have referred, is a pitiable exception, but in keeping with the abominable example of the French Emperor in his wholesale plunder of the art treasures of Italy. In the German War of 1870 there were many instances of disgraceful pillage, but the authorities were not in accord with such proceedings and endeavored to check them, only demanding food, shelter and transportation where such could be had without imposing upon the non-combatants to an oppressive degree. Berkheimer says, in his admirable work on Military Law, that life is taken for the state, and property being subordinate to life may also be taken with the life or in place of the life of the owner. Kent says the end of war is to procure by force the justice which cannot be otherwise attained, and the law of nations allows the means requisite to the end. There is no justice to be obtained in sacking an enemy to enrich individuals who are serving a state for a stipulated hire. The state takes life to weaken its enemy and thus terminate the war; there is no idea of personal malice or animosity towards those whom it may seek to kill, and, therefore, the property taken is never of such a nature as would directly be of use to non-belligerents. There is no philosophical end to be obtained in taking property of

this nature; it being unmolested renders the enemy no stronger nor the state any more able to prosecute its war, but it may add hugely to the booty money, and hence soldiers are bound to seize illegitimate property at every opportunity. Were it in accordance with the purposes of war to make military employment a profitable business nothing movable would be exempt. The appropriation of one article would logically mean the right to take all and hence we would strip our enemies to the point of nakedness and starvation, that our own people might return from the fray loaded to their greed's content with the private property despoiled of belligerents and non-combatants alike.

However this may be as to sailors, we have so far checked our armies. Modern warfare has been conducted on the principle that troops shall molest their non-combatant enemies as little as possible, and the last instance of authorized booty which amounted to any great value, other than that which has already been mentioned as granted by the English budgets, was that which existed under Napoleon I. As I have said, he seized treasures of art in all the countries of Europe, and when he sent the sword of Frederick the Great back to Paris at the opening of his final campaign in Prussia he terminated a long series of robberies. General Sherman in his "Memoirs" speaks of an instance when, on his march through the Carolinas, he was offered a number of handsome household rugs for the furnishing of his tent. These rugs and certain other household furniture had fallen into the hands of one of his generals, who appropriated them to his own personal purposes rather than allow the soldiers to destroy them; and having furnished his own tent with a number of these articles he failed to see why his chief should not do likewise. As the army was traveling comfortably at that time it would have been entirely

possible for such camp equipments to have been legitimately utilized, but Sherman scorned the idea and refused to accept any such gift savoring of the aroma of pillage. This is the only instance that has met the general notice of the public of an American officer taking for his own purposes strictly private property. Of course, there were many occasions when illegitimate profit was made by dealing in just such effects as have been referred to, but these transactions have never appeared on record.

To be entirely consistent our government should adopt the views of Franklin and place private property on the high seas in the same category with private property on land. To prosecute war upon the strict lines laid down by the best military authorities we must compensate our soldiers and sailors directly from the public exchequer, and permit the fortunes of victory to be of no weight in the balance of rewards, accumulating to the government all captured public property that will weaken the enemy and strengthen the fighting capacity of the government.

With these thoughts in mind, considering the care with which judicial authorities act, and remembering the laws which we have reviewed, ought we not to conclude that the system of special pecuniary rewards in the naval service has outlived its usefulness, if it ever had any, and should be relegated? With the encouraging results exhibited in the army by the abolition of all other pecuniary reward than that received from their pay and allowances, may we not conclude that a similar system should apply to the navy? In making fish of one and flesh of the other, is there not occasional danger of demoralization to both?

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

"Andrew Carnegie's philanthropy does not go so far as making armor plate for Uncle Sam at cost."

—*New York Press.*

OF COURSE not. Why should it? Does Uncle Sam need philanthropy? "Making armor plate for Uncle Sam at cost" would be like Miss Helen Gould's gift of one hundred thousand dollars to the United States government, to help pay the expenses of the war. An offer of armor plate at cost might do in a poverty-stricken country like Spain, where the government goes a-begging, but the suggestion would be insulting if it were not silly in the United States. Mr. Carnegie would far better reinvest his money in the making of steel than give it to Uncle Sam.

THE JOURNAL OF COMMERCE is devoting a large proportion of its editorial page almost daily to opposing trusts. Unlike the sensational journals which will oppose or boom anything that will aid circulation or political influence, the *Journal of Commerce* expects to be taken seriously. We should like to ask this paper to answer a single straightforward question on the subject. It is this. What should be done by legislation to prevent trusts? As we understand it, the *Journal of Commerce* stands for the right of private property, the free mobility and investment of capital, and the right of individual and associate enterprise. Now what would it recommend in the case of trusts? Should the law prohibit partnership and corporate concerns, should the law limit the amount of capital such firm or corporate enterprise can employ, should it restrict the kind or variety of business a concern may undertake? Will the *Journal of Commerce* state itself clearly and unequivocally on this subject?

"When the war in Luzon is over we shall probably see a great development of the resources of that island and its neighbors. The Agricultural Department at Washington, in a document recently issued and founded on a report made by the French Consul at Manila, estimates that only about one-ninth of the soil of the Philippine Islands is under cultivation, and that with increased acreage and better methods its agricultural products could be increased ten or fifteen fold."

—*New York Sun.*

WHAT A WONDERFUL showing! As if the United States was suffering for uncultivated land! Why, the island of Luzon all told has only about 23,000,000 acres of uncultivated land. We have a dozen states any one of which has more than that. Texas alone has over 105,000,000 acres of uncultivated land, or about four and a half times as much as the island of Luzon. In the United States we have over a billion acres of uncultivated land, or about thirty-nine times as much as the entire surface of the island of Luzon. If uncultivated land is wanted, the United States and not the Philippines is the place to find it.

Won't the *Sun* give us something a little better than this as a reason for annexing the Philippines? We may need the Philippines very much, but not for such reasons. Say we need them for a coaling station, to increase our influence in the Orient, to extend the glory of the flag, to give us a footing in Asia,—for anything you please, except more uncultivated land. The impotence of this as an argument is really too obvious.

IN HIS TESTIMONY before the industrial commission, in Washington, Mr. H. O. Havemeyer, president of the sugar trust, said: "The mother of all trusts is the customs tariff bill. The existing bill and the preceding one have been the occasion of the formation of all the large trusts." What followed in his testimony, which was a carefully prepared document, clearly indicates that Mr. Havemeyer is opposed to the tariff, and

thinks that trusts, which the tariff creates, are bad things. Now, as this is Mr. Havemeyer's opinion (and so far as the sugar trust is concerned he ought to know,) congress should take his advice and remove all protection from refined sugar at once. Mr. Havemeyer goes on to announce that through the duty on raw sugar \$24,000,000 is "extracted from the people of the United States" and put into the pockets of a few sugar planters in Louisiana and Hawaii. If this be true, what shall we say of the millions that have been "extracted from the people" and put into the pockets of Mr. Havemeyer and a few protected sugar refiners? The duty on raw sugar is manifestly needed as a revenue for the government, that on refined sugar can easily be dispensed with. Upon Mr. Havemeyer's own testimony no time should be lost in removing all protection from refined sugar.

THE STRIKE on the surface railroads of Cleveland is a very discreditable industrial disturbance, for which the attitude of the corporation is directly responsible. The difference on the wages matter is not the real cause of the trouble, but it is the arrogant attitude of the company in refusing to treat with the committee representing the unions. There is no economic excuse nor moral or social justification for their conduct. Decent and ordinarily fair employers have long since passed that point of one-sided obstinacy.

Simultaneously with the disgraceful condition in Cleveland comes the news from Michigan that a conference between the iron and steel manufacturers and a committee of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers has resulted in a general rise of 25 per cent. in wages of 25,000 workmen. A few months ago (first of April) the cotton manufacturers of Fall River, Massachusetts, met the representatives of

the unions and amicably settled questions in controversy, and raised the wages 12 per cent. This is the civilized method recognized among decent employers, and in strikes in the United States, due to refusal of a conference with representatives of labor unions, the employers should be put under the ban of public condemnation. Regardless of the economic question in dispute, the conduct of the Cleveland Street Railway company is a discredit to the reputation of American employers.

THE TENDENCY of concentration is showing itself at present in a very marked degree in banking. In New York City alone the bank deposits aggregate nearly \$1,000,000,000. Since 1892 they have increased about \$400,000,000. These banks have a surplus of some \$80,000,000, which has increased by \$10,000,000 since 1892. In ten of these banks the deposits are over \$25,000,000 each, and in one, the City Bank, over \$136,500,000, an increase since 1892 of about \$119,000,000, due to consolidation of other banks with it. This concentration of banking indicates a movement which must ere long reach out into the country districts. It could be greatly aided if it were encouraged by sensible financial legislation, providing for the introduction of the branch bank system. But, if political wisdom is not forthcoming, banking concentration is bound to come by the power of the self-interest of the banks themselves. If the City Bank with its \$136,500,000 of deposits, for instance, and better still if two or three of the other larger ones united with it were behind a number of country banks, an almost unlimited note issue against bank assets by country banks would be absolutely safe, because secured by this immense volume of money in the metropolitan banks. This would at once double and perhaps treble the accom-

modation the country banks could give to their customers, and at a rate of interest practically as low as prevails in the metropolis, the money center.

THE ACTION of the India government in imposing a duty on sugar, to offset the bounty paid by Germany, Austria, and other European countries, is having a disturbing effect on the minds of our free trade doctrinaires. The *Boston Herald* calls it "a betrayal of free trade," a "plot," which it charges to the "intriguing hand of Mr. Chamberlain, the colonial secretary, and Lord Curzon, the Viceroy." In supporting the bill Lord Curzon committed the unpardonable sin of talking with contempt of the "mutterings of the high priest at free trade shrines," and referring to the measure as setting "an example of far-reaching significance" which may "even be regarded as a factor in the imperial problem." The *Herald* regards this as "an intimation that the backsliding from free trade in India may have large consequences, and that England herself, under the guidance of the Salisbury ministry, may modify her policy by the abandonment of the old Gladstonian principles."

Of course it is backsliding from free trade, but that is inevitable. The only surprising thing about it is that an intelligent American journal should evince surprise at so natural a phenomenon; but it shows how completely the reasoning on that subject in this country is an echo of English thinking. But, really, the cry of "backsliders" "intriguers" and "plotters," against those who refuse blindly to worship at the free trade shrine, is not economic discussion. It may coerce but it will never convince.

CIVICS AND EDUCATION

REFORMS IN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM*

W. F. EDWARDS

M. de Tocqueville in his "Democracy in America" says: "It cannot be doubted that in the United States, the instruction of the people powerfully contributes to the support of a democratic republic; and such must always be the case, I believe, where instruction which awakens the understanding, is not separated from moral education which amends the heart." This is the general sentiment of the people of the United States to-day, as evidenced in various ways in considerations concerning school legislation. We have free schools everywhere; minimum requirements of qualification for teachers; minimum time requirements of attendance in these schools for children between certain ages fixed by legislation; free text books; required subjects of instruction, such as physiology and hygiene; prevention of the spread of contagious diseases; patriotism, mercy, etc., and yet there is dissatisfaction with and recognized need of reform in our schools.

The principal reform needed is thought by some to be one thing and by others to be quite another thing, and altogether there is no unanimity of opinion concerning this matter, but each cry for reform shows that there is dissatisfaction. There are those who consider that the introduction of some elastic system of grading would be a solution of the gravest difficulties in our schools; those who consider that the lack of manual training represents the crying need; those who think that better teachers and less text-book cramming would make the schools all

* This article complements Mr. Edwards' discussion of "Grave Evils in Our Public School System," in the April number of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE.

that could be desired; those who believe that the omission of Bible readings and prayers from the daily routine of the schools has greatly impaired their usefulness; those who seem to believe that the high schools are taking too much money for "fads" and useless training; those who believe that more uniformity in the courses of instruction and text-books throughout the state would greatly benefit the schools; those who believe that legislation concerning the selection of the members of school boards could solve all the difficulties; and so on.

There are those in every state sufficiently interested in school reform; there is scarcely a meeting of a legislature in any state that is not confronted with numerous bills looking to changes in the schools of that state. Many of these bills, such as those coming from some of our larger cities asking for a different organization of the schools, are attempts to remedy serious evils. Many of them come from enthusiasts who believe that an evil can be suppressed by lobbying a bill through the legislature. In this connection a recent publication gives to one woman the credit, if credit it be, of bringing about legislation in forty-one states to the effect that physiology and hygiene shall be taught, with special reference to the nature of alcoholic beverages and narcotics and their effects on the human system, in all public schools of the state. In this legislation the text-books are sometimes described, even to the minimum number of pages that shall be devoted to alcoholic beverages and narcotics. No consideration is paid to the fact that not one teacher in five hundred is competent to give instruction in such a subject and that to pupils in the lower grades it can only be of the nature of dogmatic statement.

Flag patriotism in the schools is another case of legislation that brings about ridiculous conditions. In

some of the western states, where the school boards are required to purchase a flag to be displayed during school hours, there are districts in which the school can only be carried on for two or three months of the year, and this on borrowed funds paid out in warrants to be redeemed in from one to two years. Frequently there is such indebtedness in the district that the teacher can only realize fifty per cent. of the face value of these warrants if he is required to dispose of them at once as a means of living. An unique case of misdirected enthusiasm in legislation is represented in one of our western states by the repeated attempt to legislate a "Chair of Maternity" into the university, which had no medical department or college in connection with it. These attempts did not result in securing the legislation, but one of the regents was so imbued with the notion that, happening to note that one of the courses in the department of pedagogy was headed "Child Study," he desired to have it made compulsory for all students, under the impression that it was a course on raising babies. In similar ways much of the legislation concerning minimum required qualifications of teachers, and concerning minimum attendance and the teaching of morality, patriotism, mercy, etc., is practically ineffective and useless.

Legislation to be beneficial must be in accord with the general sentiment of the people, must have some one whose duty it is to enforce it, must be *reasonable*, and the public must not be *indifferent* to it. The mere lobbying of bills through the legislatures cannot be depended on to correct evils in our schools. The kind of legislation that is attempted shows that the people expect much of our schools but do not clearly understand the difficulties to be overcome. A high authority, G. Stanley Hall, President of Clark University, in a paper entitled: "The Case of the Public Schools," pub-

lished in the March, 1896, number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, makes the following brief statement of the reforms needed in our schools: "The reforms needed, in my opinion, are, that the power of appointment and also that of removal be given into competent and responsible hands. Members of school boards should be elected on tickets at large; that with advancement up the grades should go increased pay, permanence and dignity, but that good teachers in all grades should be paid more than poor teachers in any grade; that there be a great but gradual increase in special teaching as the pupils pass up the grades; that the selection of text-books be placed in expert and incorruptible hands; and finally, that the functions of formal examinations be greatly reduced."

If the first of these suggested reforms,—the placing of the power of the appointment and also that of removal (of teachers and other employees of the schools) in *competent* and *responsible* hands,—could be brought about, the others, I believe, would follow. We would then not often keep poor teachers any considerable time, to be paid more than others of the same grade and rank. The text-book problem would be of slight importance because then the teacher's work would not be principally that of assigning and listening to the recitation of lessons, and with the increased permanence of position that would surely follow this reform there would not be that almost annual change of text-books that now makes so much trouble in our city schools. Such examinations as are now given by township, city or county examiners would have no significance except to insure the teacher's salary in states where the collection of such salary depends on a certificate that is obtained by such an examination, as all teachers would then be required to have training in academic and professional training schools of such a

character as to make these examinations useless. Formal promotion examinations in graded schools would soon be found to be of very little value except in special cases. Dignity to the profession and permanence of occupation would follow as surely as the day comes with the rising sun.

How shall we place the power of appointment and removal in competent and responsible hands? is, then, the problem before all others to be solved. In this problem the main questions to be considered are: What constitutes a competent person to be invested with such power? What tests will receive attention in deciding eligibility to membership in the boards and executive offices proposed below? How and to whom shall such person be made responsible?

Concerning this last question, all will agree that the person having the power of appointment and removal must be ultimately responsible to the people. How he shall be made responsible to the people involves the method of electing to and removal from office, and the definition of his powers and duties. The National Educational Association has given this matter considerable attention, which has resulted in the publication of two quite prolix reports: "The Report of the Sub-committee on the Organization of City Schools" found in the "Report of the Committee of Fifteen on Elementary Education," and the "Report of the Committee of Twelve on Rural Schools." Both of these reports contain many excellent suggestions for the improvement of our schools, but unfortunately city (large city) schools and rural schools have been considered separately and left at this point. In the body of the report of the sub-committee is found the following statement: "All the circumstances of the case, and the uniform experiences of the world, forbid our expecting any substantial solution of this problem (organization

of schools in large cities) we are considering until it is well settled in the sentiments of the people that the school systems of the great cities are only a part of the school systems of the states of which these cities form a part, and are subject to the legislative authority thereof ____." I am in doubt as to the weight of the proof afforded by the "uniform experiences of the world," but consider the sentiment expressed so sound and so essential to the solution of the question under consideration that I give it here as coming from a high authority and requiring no further comment. In the report of the committee of twelve, under the caption "Organization" (of rural schools), is the following statement, which has a bearing on the question: "____The township-unit system is far superior to the district-unit, and should be substituted, if practicable, for that system wherever it exists." Doubtless a joint committee consisting of a part of or all of the members of both these committees would give a very satisfactory outline of a state system of schools.

It has been said of the schools of some states that they differ too much from one another to be called state schools except to indicate that they are all within the boundaries of the state. There is doubtless much truth in the statement when applied to a considerable number of our states. The schools of several of the states are left altogether too much to the influences of local prejudice and local government to be entitled to any claim of composing a state system of schools. If we compare the so-called systems of the different states we shall find that they differ very much from one another, and that many of them have this common fault of leaving too much to local authorities. There is rarely any reason why there should be any difference in the schools of the same grade in the same county, and surely never any reason why a county board cannot adjust them for

any differences required because of local environment as well as a local board.

It seems to me that there can be no doubt that free public schools are for the purpose of producing more intelligent and patriotic citizenship for the state, and should, therefore, be more generally controlled by the state and left much less to the local authorities. Taking this for granted I would suggest the following system of organization as comprehensive, sufficient and desirable, and one that can be put in operation in any state, no matter what its present system may be, except in so far as constitutional provisions and necessary legislation might interfere.

At the head of the system a State Board of Education of, say, seven members with legislative functions, and a State Superintendent of Public Instruction, who should be the executive officer of the board and have the veto power concerning its legislation, and who should also act as the secretary of the board. As local boards, a County Board of Education of, say, five members with legislative functions in each county, and a County Commissioner of Schools, who should be the executive officer of the county board and who should have the veto power concerning its legislation, and who should be the secretary of the board. As a local executive officer, a Township Commissioner of Schools in each township, who should act under instruction, in part, from the county commissioner of his county; and, where it seems advisable for the larger cities, a City Commissioner of Schools who should act in the same capacity for the city that the township commissioner does for the township. This last would probably only be advisable in the case of large cities not wholly within one township. It may be advisable to have only one county commissioner for two or more counties in sparsely settled districts. For a like reason it may often be

advisable to have only one township commissioner for two or more townships.

With a proper definition of eligibility to these boards and executive offices, and of the functions of each, this system could take educational affairs largely out of the hands of the legislatures. It would be necessary to legislate concerning our schools, but legislation might not be proposed until it was demonstrated that it is desirable by those who are in close touch with the schools and who are competent to judge, and who would also be the ones to enforce the legislation.

The functions of the state board of education should be the same as those usually considered as belonging to that body together with those of boards of regents, boards of control, boards of directors, or boards of trustees of state universities, state normal schools, state agricultural colleges, or state schools of mines, etc. In addition they should have the sole power to recommend to the state legislature concerning school legislation.

In this way this board would be a sort of honorary committee of the legislature to whom all matters concerning school legislation would be referred for consideration and recommendation, and might do much to prevent some of the absurd and useless legislation that now and then is thrust upon us. The presidents of the state universities, normal schools, agricultural colleges, etc., would be in a sense honorary executive officers of this board, and should have certain specific functions differing from those of the state superintendent of public instruction, the latter being more closely concerned with the elementary education of the state. In this way the institutions of higher education would become a part of the school system of the state, as they always ought to have been.

The chief functions of the county board would be, that of determining what school houses are necessary

for the county, where the buildings shall be located, what equipment is necessary for them, and what teachers and other employees are necessary for the school; that of examining all applicants for positions to teach within the county, and thus making and keeping on file a list of those found qualified, from which the township commissioners should make all their appointments; that of reporting to the state board concerning the amount of money necessary to carry on the schools of the county for the ensuing year, and such other matters as the state board shall from time to time direct.

The county commissioner as executive officer of the county board should see that the regulations of the board are faithfully carried out by the township commissioners. He should visit the office of each township commissioner once a year to examine his records and report on the same to the county board, and on such other matters as the county board may from time to time require information.

The township commissioner should appoint and dismiss for cause all teachers and other employees provided for the schools of his township by the county board. He should draw orders on the township treasurer, if there be one, for their salaries and should keep a record of all such orders. He should act as superintendent of the schools of his township in about the same capacity as that of superintendents of city schools. If there is a city commissioner of schools he should have the same functions for city schools that the township commissioner has for the township schools.

In order that these boards and officers may perform their functions intelligently it is necessary that they be of men who have had the advantage of considerable education and culture. I would suggest that for eligibility to membership in the state board a diploma from a college or university in good standing should be required.

For eligibility to the office of state superintendent of public instruction a diploma from such college or university, and also from a training school or training department of a university or college, should be required. In addition he should have taught five years, three of them as superintendent or principal of some system of schools where he had the supervision of the work of at least ten teachers—(three years service as county or township commissioner could be substituted for this last requirement,)—and he should be at least thirty-five years of age.

For eligibility to membership in the county board one should be at least a graduate of a high school with an approved course of study. For eligibility to the office of county commissioner a person should be a graduate of a four year high school course, and of a good normal school or the training department of the state university, should have taught three years, and should be at least thirty years of age. Eligibility to the office of township commissioner should be the same as for county commissioner, except that two years' experience in teaching and a minimum age of twenty-five years might be substituted for the like requirements in the case of the county commissioner.

The term of office of all the officers is immaterial, except that it be long enough to allow each one to become acquainted with the work of his office and to continue to perform its duties for a considerable time thereafter. Too short terms of office, it seems to me, is the bane of our whole system of government and this is especially true of executive offices. In this connection I would suggest that the first state board consist of seven members whose terms of office expire in one, two, three, four, five, six, and seven years, and that their successors be appointed for a full term of eight years; also, that the state superintendent of public instruction

be appointed at the same time for a full term of eight years. In like manner a county board could be composed of five members with terms of office of six years, and the county commissioner could be elected with the first board for a full term of six years. The term of office of township commissioner might well be five years.

Concerning the method of selecting these various officers, there probably would be a great difference of opinion, but all would agree that they should be selected in such a way as to avoid a political partisan contest, if it is possible. Many will contend that the state board should be appointed by the governor of the state, as the surest way of avoiding partisan contests. The Committee of Fifteen of the National Educational Association have expressed themselves in favor of appointment by the mayors for boards of education in the large cities. This preference of the committee is doubtless in part due to a desire to fix responsibility for the selection of bad members. A definition of eligibility such as has been suggested would limit the number from which the governor could make appointments to the state board, but there are many political rascals who could answer to the definition of eligibility.

In some states, where the governor appoints the members of the state board of pharmacy, state board of medical examiners, etc., the respective associations send in each year a certain number of names of persons approved by the association, from which the governor usually makes his appointments. If some such plan could be agreed on, whereby the state teachers' associations should send in an approved list of names from which the governor should make appointments to the state board and also the office of state superintendent, it probably would do very much to improve such boards.

So far as the selection of the members of the

county boards, the county commissioners, and the township commissioners is concerned, I believe it should be election by the people. The ordinary method of electing them on political party tickets is unsatisfactory. President Hall's suggestion that "Members of school boards should be elected on tickets at large," seems to me to be a good one, and could be applied to the election of the members of the county boards, and of the county and township commissioners. I would suggest the following method as a good one for electing township commissioners.

Have a registration before each election. At the time of registering let each one make a choice by writing a name on a list. If any one has a majority of all those registering, let him be declared elected. If there is no one having such majority, let the two having the highest number of votes be the candidates whose names are placed on a separate ticket to be voted for at the township election. This plan can be extended to the election of the county commissioners and members of the county board.

Removal from office should only be for cause. The governor should have the power of removal—for cause—of all officers appointed by him. So far as the county and township commissioners are concerned, it seems to me that removal from office could be left in the hands of the county board, who should always file a statement of removal together with that of the cause therefor with the county clerk or prosecuting attorney. Removal of members of the county board might be left to a committee of the county board of supervisors, or a committee consisting of the county clerk, treasurer and prosecuting attorney.

Whoever has the power of removal should have the power of filling the vacancy until the next regular election of the officers removed.

Under such a system the schools would have efficient and sufficient superintendence. In course of time better teachers, better school houses with better equipment and location, would result. For the same expenditure of funds better schools could be maintained. Official responsibility would be increased, and at the same time simplicity of administration would be secured. Greater uniformity in the quality of teachers and schools would result. The bad effects of local friendships would be to a considerable extent avoided in the employing of teachers. As before noted, school legislation would be less in quantity and more efficient. The tenure of office of teachers in rural districts would be increased, as a teacher could then calculate to teach in the same school at least as long as the same township commissioner remained in office. This might be an incentive to many a farmer boy to prepare himself for teaching by taking a course in the high school and a training course in a normal school or agricultural college. I believe the agricultural colleges could then carry on a course to fit teachers for the rural schools, to good advantage to themselves and the rural schools.

CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL NOTES

Mr. Edwards' article on "Reforms in our Public School System," published in this number, is worth and ought to receive the serious attention of educators and of everybody interested in educational matters. In it he shows what can be done to remedy many of the abuses described in his article "Grave Evils in Our Public School System," in the April magazine. His suggestions for simplifying and more effectively organizing the educational systems of the various states, providing a better division of authority and higher standard of qualifications for educational officials, are unquestionably in line with much-needed reforms. Whatever the background of experience from which Mr. Edwards writes, the conditions of which he complains are not confined to any particular locality. Right here in New York there has long been need of re-arrangement of the work of the board of regents and the department of public instruction. At present there is conflict of authority, duplication of work and confusion of standards. It is to be hoped that legislation on the subject will bring about either a consolidation of the departments or distinct classification of their powers and duties, at an early date.

The National Municipal League is issuing a series of little pamphlets explaining the work and purposes of the league. Number I contains a reprint of an article by Secretary Clinton Rogers Woodruff, contributed to the *Yale Review*; Number II is a collection of newspaper opinions on the Indianapolis conference of the league, held last December. The work of this organization has not yet commanded all the interest and support that it probably deserves, but it is making headway and is an important

force for the creation of more active public opinion on problems of municipal government. The chief danger, it seems to us, that threatens the work of this organization is that of wrecking its standing and influence by antagonizing instead of molding and using the organized political forces of the community. The names of some of its prominent officers do not allay the fear that mistakes of this kind may be made. Many of them stand conspicuously for the misnamed "non-partisan" idea of separate political action, which, carried into practice, has so often split up the forces of decency and progress in municipal contests. However, it is not quite fair to criticize a movement in advance for an error that may appear in it, and so far the National Municipal League has been doing a work worthy of support and extension throughout the country.

Last month we noted the purchase of a large block of land near Forty-second street and Tenth avenue,

Model Tenements Pay New York, upon which are to be erected a series of model tenements supplied with modern conveniences and all necessary sanitary appliances, and to be rented at about \$1.00 per week per room. The pioneer institutions of this sort in New York City are the Alfred Corning Clark buildings, occupying the block between Amsterdam and West End avenues and Sixty-eighth and Sixty-ninth streets. The financial report of these buildings, for the six months from October 31st to April 30th last, has recently been made public. It shows that during the period named the rents yielded a dividend of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on \$312,000 of capital stock, over and above all expenses, including 4 per cent. interest on a \$300,000 mortgage. There was a surplus, also, of \$1,671.23. The rents collected during the six months amounted to \$26,272.36, and the expenses of operation, including salaries, labor,

fuel, lights, taxes, water rents, insurance, supplies and incidentals, and the company's general expenses, amounted to \$10,801.13.

This is doing remarkably well, considering the quality of accommodations furnished, and the very low rents. The general average rental per room is only 92½ cents per week; of two-room apartments it is \$1.70, and of four-room apartments \$4.65. All nationalities except Italians and Greeks are represented in these buildings; and a large variety of occupations, including waiters, dressmakers, laborers, carpenters, nurses, gripmen, conductors, engineers, drivers, painters, stablemen, and theatrical employees. The company pays half the expense of maintaining a kindergarten, the other half being contributed by outside parties. There are, also, afternoon and evening classes for young women and cooking classes for women.

The good effects of these experiments in decent housing are not confined to the tenants of the buildings themselves. They tend to establish a standard of accommodations and conveniences for the neighborhood, which increases the pressure upon landlords who do not supply them. One of the most satisfactory features is that they are profit-paying institutions, and not dependent on philanthropy. This is the guaranty that more of them will come, and that all future house construction will conform to the improved standards. The tenants are neither objects of charity, nor tenants of the city and compelled to seek improvements through political rather than economic channels, as would be the case with municipal tenants and lodging houses. Why should not a block of these model tenements follow Mills Hotel No. 2 down into the congested sections of the East Side?

SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY

THE "BARBARIANS" IN CHINA

Civilization arose in the East. A part of it has remained there, static, during forty centuries. The other part, forced out of the rich plains of India before history began, carried the course of empire westward, gathering fresh qualities of character and genius from the friction of war and hardship, the exhilaration of change, adventure, discovery, and the molding influence of contact with new peoples and governments, strange religions, and variety of soil and climate. It reached the Atlantic, rolled back upon itself for a time, and finally encircled the globe. Then, pushing back from Europe and, later on, forward from America, the last civilization encountered the first. In the poverty, superstition and despotism of India and China, the western nations saw what they themselves might have become had they too, in the intellectual childhood of the race, been able to lie down in peaceful seclusion for an uninterrupted sleep of ages.

Nearly two centuries ago, India and southern Asia began to yield to European encroachments, but it is only within the last few decades that any important incursion of foreign commercial interests into China has been permitted, while political interference is still warded off with remarkable cleverness and success. From out the confusion and fog of the general eastern situation the fact seems to be growing clear that, after all, the most selfish interests of western trade and capital will be served best by maintaining the Chinese Empire, and thus avoiding the scramble and perhaps wars that would ensue in case of partition. The day when much could be gained by governing one people in the interest of another has

passed. It is too expensive and the methods it requires are too discreditable. It demands a long period of brutal, iron-heel coercion that civilization no longer looks upon with favor. China, if she remains discreet all through the present crisis, bids fair to escape partition. More than that; with the introduction of western industry and influences, now going on so rapidly, a new spirit will little by little pervade the old Empire and expand and regenerate the government itself. This is already becoming true. The Chinese government at last realizes that the western races are not "barbarians." It has been made forcibly to appreciate the effectiveness and superiority of western methods, both in war and industry, and perhaps even suspects that much of the world's virtual barbarism during all these centuries has existed right at home.

It will be interesting to note to just what extent the "barbarians"—(as the western peoples appeared to the Chinese)—have succeeded in entering China, and what they are now accomplishing. The best recent account of this matter that we have seen appeared in the "Summary of Commerce and Finance" for March (corrected to April 27) issued monthly by the statistical bureau of the Treasury Department. Portugal and Spain were the first to open trading relations with China, during the first half of the sixteenth century; the Dutch and English followed, early in the seventeenth. Trade was permitted at only a few ports, conspicuously Canton, and could only be conducted through Chinese warehouse merchants. This system continued until 1842, after the "opium war" between China and Great Britain. Five "treaty" ports were then established, wherein foreign merchants were permitted to live and trade with whomever they pleased. Since then the number of treaty ports has increased to nearly thirty, many of them being in the interior of the coun-

try. Peking and most of the cities of northern China are still reserved. The foreign residents in treaty ports are in most cases assigned definite areas to themselves, and to a large extent govern themselves in accordance with their own regulations. The British residents in these treaty ports numbered 4,929, in 1897; the Americans 1,564, Japanese 1,106, Portuguese 975, German 950, French 698, and so on; Russia having only 116, and the total for all nations being 11,667. Shanghai, the New York of China, at the mouth of Yangtze-kiang, is the most important treaty port, handling two-thirds of China's import trade. Canton and Tientsin on the coast, and Hankow and Chungking in the interior, are perhaps next in importance.

The war of 1895, with Japan, like that of 1842 with England, had a wonderfully limbering effect on China's stiff-necked foreign policy. The larger part of all the concessions to foreigners have been granted during the last three years. The more important rivers and canals of China have been opened to vessels of foreign nations, rights of internal trade and of engaging in manufacture in any of the treaty ports granted, imports of machinery permitted, and certain taxes abated. Even more important is the recent leasing of numerous ports and vantage points to foreign governments for long terms of years. Portugal has held the island of Macao, near Canton, in this way since 1537, and England has been in possession of Hongkong since 1842; but since 1895 new leases have been made to practically all the great powers.

Germany seized the port of Kiaochau, off the coast of Shantung, south of the Gulf of Pechili, on the fourth of November, 1897. The pretext was to obtain satisfaction for the murder of German missionaries, and within a short time a treaty was announced leasing the port and adjacent territory to Germany for ninety-nine years.

This treaty gave the right to land troops, build forts, and maintain a naval and coaling station, as well as liberal industrial privileges in Shantung province. Russia and England were not slow to follow. On March 27, 1898, Russia obtained a lease of Port Arthur and Talienwan, including 800 square miles of territory, and on April 2nd following the port of Weihaiwei was leased upon similar terms to Great Britain. Port Arthur and Weihaiwei are located on the north and south shores respectively of the Gulf of Pechili, which is the waterway entrance from the Yellow Sea to Tientsin, the seaport of Peking. At the same time Russia obtained permission to extend its Siberian railroad to Port Arthur through Manchuria, the northernmost province of the Chinese Empire; and England obtained a lease of 200 square miles of territory on the mainland opposite Hongkong.

France then demanded a lease of the harbor of Kwangchauwan, near the French territory of Tonkin, on the extreme southern coast of China; together with railroad concessions in the adjoining province of Yunnan. This was granted on April 13th, 1898.

The telegraph was about the first distinctively modern institution to be introduced into China. It preceded the railroad, and now there are about 4000-miles of telegraph in the Empire, connecting Peking with nearly all the provincial capitals. Great prejudice and opposition greeted the first railroads. During all the forty centuries of Chinese history, rivers and canals have been China's principal and almost sole reliance for travel and traffic. Outside the cities there are practically no roads,—nothing but zigzag paths and tracks, many of them alternately opened up and obliterated as occasion demands. Wheelbarrows, besides sedan chairs and pack animals, are used for both passengers and freight.

This satisfied the Chinese, however, and when in 1876 a fourteen-mile railroad was opened between Shanghai and Wusung, by British enterprise, they protested so violently that the local authorities bought the line and tore up the rails. In 1881, an English engineer, G. E. Kindler, got possession of a coal tramway near Tientsin, extended it north and south, and began hauling the cars with a steam engine. This was a less pretentious effort than the first and had a chance to overcome superstition and prove its advantages before opposition should drive it out. The line was extended south to Tientsin, thence west to Peking and Paoting; while on the north it was carried to the treaty port of Shan-hai-kwan, on the north shore of the Gulf of Pechili. This system is about 350 miles in length, and represents all the railroad facilities China possesses.

Great concessions for new lines have been granted, however. As before stated Russia is to bring her Siberian road to Port Arthur through Manchuria. A British and German line is to run from Tientsin to Shanghai, about 700 miles. Another, to be built by Belgian capital, will extend from Peking south to Hankow, 650 miles, traversing a section of 100,000,000 population. British and Italian roads will run from Peking still further to the South-west, into the coal and iron regions. A 200-mile British road is to be built from Shanghai to the South, aiming eventually at Hongkong. Other British concessions include a road from Hongkong and Canton west into the rich province of Szechuan, 600 miles; and a very important line from Chungking, in Szechuan province, the heart of China, south through Yunnan and across the border to Mandalay, in the British possession of Burmah. This would connect British India with the head of the Yangtze-kiang river, China's great artery of commerce, and, by means of other projected roads, establish a through

route north to Peking and thence to Europe by way of the Siberian railroad.

One of the important connecting links in this monster proposed system is an American line to run from Canton north to Hankow, 600 miles, through a very rich agricultural section with a population equal to that of the United States. On the south it will connect with the British line into Szechuan and thence to Burmah, and on the north with the Belgian road to Peking. This is the only railway concession yet granted to American capitalists. The French have concessions for several lines running north from Tonkin into the province of Yunnan, and to important treaty ports on the south coast of China.

These projected lines will, when completed, give China nearly four thousand miles of railway. Several of these roads are now in process of construction. None of the concessions permit permanent foreign ownership of the roads. After payment of the foreign mortgages, the lines are to revert to the government.

Manufacturing industry, in the modern sense, is pretty nearly a minus quantity in China. Labor is too cheap to make the use of much machinery profitable. Wages of common labor range from 3 to 10 cents per day, of skilled from 18 to 22 cents. The cotton industry is most important, operatives get about 18 cents per day, and about 500,000 spindles are in operation,—little more than one-tenth the number in our southern states alone, to say nothing of New England.

China's mineral resources are very great, the coal deposits being especially rich. It is estimated that Shansi province alone contains enough coal to supply the world for a thousand years; Kansu is almost equally rich. The only important mines in China are the Kaiping, in Chihli, whose output is about 1,500 tons per day, consumed chiefly by the Chinese navy and

mills at Shanghai. New mining machinery is being introduced, and more will follow as railroads are built.

Despite our entrance into eastern problems through occupation of the Philippines, it cannot be said that the United States has any pressing need of trade expansion in that direction. Certain lines of commerce may well be built up and extended, but it is difficult to see the wisdom of creating an enormous export trade in common staples which the Chinese are certain to manufacture for themselves before long. The great and permanently enlarging opportunity for our capital is in industries which shall supply the increasing variety of higher wants of highly civilized people. For such commodities our own population will always form the largest and surest market.

The investment of surplus American capital in Chinese enterprises is somewhat different. If our surplus increases faster than the demands of our own industries for new capital, no harm can result from investing it abroad. That, indeed, is a sign of our growing wealth and independence; and it is just the way in which modern civilization is to be carried to backward countries. Industrial development and not military conquest will take wealth, freedom and knowledge into the Orient. The awakening of the vast empire of China challenges our keenest interest; not merely because of the commercial interest America may have in the matter but because of what so great an event means to civilization. It is an object lesson in social evolution. It transfers an enormous weight from the scale of poverty and superstition, and tips the world's balance to the side of enlightenment. Once revived and regenerated, China ceases to be the prey and spoil and quarrel-pretext of jealous nations and becomes the last link in the world-round chain of universal progress and peace.

SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY NOTES

The trip of an automobile from Cleveland to New York, 707 miles in forty hours actual running time, Automobiles with only one accident, and at trifling expense for motive power, is an event vs. Railroads that may herald a semi-revolution in methods of cross-country travel. With broad macadamized thoroughfares running all over the country, even the railroads may have to compete with the automobile for pleasure journeys, if not to some extent for business travel also.

H. G. Wells, in his odd but interesting story just completed in *Harper's Weekly*, describes a coming era when railroads will have disappeared entirely, and self-propelling wagons and carriages, traveling at great speed on broad, smooth "ways," will do the transportation work of the world. This is highly fanciful, of course; but it is not extravagant to prophesy that automobiles and paved country highways will before many years make the railroads divide with them some kinds of the world's travel in no inconsiderable quantity.

The cotton manufacturing industry, North and South, is conspicuously sharing in the general business prosperity of the country. New England is sending no more complaints Southern cotton manufacture of overproduction, shut-downs, wage reductions and disappearing profits; on the contrary, the mills are busy and within the last few months wages have been raised all along the line, fully restoring the reduction of a year ago. This condition exists in New England in spite of rapid and continuous forward strides in cotton manufacturing in the South. According to the *Journal of Commerce*, which has been publishing regular reports on the matter for some time, there were fifty new cotton mills built or commenced

in the southern states during the first five months of the present year. These new mills will operate about 700,000 spindles, and cost more than \$11,000,000 to erect. In addition to this, thirty-nine other cotton factories already in operation made or prepared to make, during the five months, extensions of plant costing fully \$5,000,000 in the aggregate, and permitting the running of 400,000 more spindles. When these new mills and extensions are completed the capacity of all the southern cotton factories will be more than 5,000,000 spindles.

Most of the mills produce either cotton-piece goods or yarn; some hosiery and knitting mills have been erected, and even woolen and silk mills are planned. Such of the southern mills as manufacture fine grades of cotton goods, to any extent, are principally branches of northern establishments,—for instance, the Merrimac Mills at Huntsville, Alabama, and the New York Mills at Rockmart, Georgia. A table of factories and their location is given, and from this it appears that 28 of the new mills or extensions of plant are in North Carolina, 23 in South Carolina, 15 in Georgia, 5 each in Virginia and Alabama, 3 each in Mississippi and Texas, and a few more scattered in other states.

It is not so much the merely economic or money-making side of the movement, but its social aspect, that interests us. Manufacturing industries are the heralds of a grade of advanced civilization that nothing else has ever been able to carry into the southern states.

CURRENT LITERATURE

THE LESSON OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT*

Popular government is really a modern product; it is a matter of the 19th century, and in reality of the last sixty years. It did not exist in England until the second reform bill. Although the spirit of popular government pervaded the first reform bill, of 1832, that measure only admitted to the franchise the business or middle class. It was not until the second reform bill, 1867, that the masses were represented in the British parliament and popular government became a fact in England.

Nor was popular government realized in this country much earlier. In most of the states in this country the suffrage was limited and qualified by property requirements, down nearly to the middle of the century. Property qualifications for voting were not abolished in North Carolina until 1865, and lingered in Pennsylvania and Delaware until 1873; so that, popular government is truly a recent political evolution, belonging to the last half of the 19th century.

In the work under consideration Mr. Bradford has given a thoroughly comprehensive historic and philosophic review of the subject. He has presented in a masterly manner the character of the representative features of the different governments in Europe. He is a thorough believer in the broad democratic principle of universal suffrage as the basis of popular government, but, in order to secure stability, statesmanlike leadership, and responsibility in government he insists that there must be executive responsibility for legisla-

**The Lesson of Popular Government.* By Gamaliel Bradford. 2 vols., 520+590 pp. Cloth, gilt tops. 1899. \$4.00. The Macmillan Company, New York and London.

tion. He attributes much of the irresponsible, loose and questionable methods in American politics to the fact that our government is too much legislature and too little executive, or, as Macaulay put it, "All sail and no anchor," and he certainly goes far towards proving his case.

The countries in which popular government has reached its highest development are England and the United States. In England the representative principle does not so completely pervade the government as in the United States; but with the exception of the monarchy and the house of lords, which are rapidly diminishing to nominal proportions, the essential difference between the method of popular government in England and the United States is not in the extent of the franchise but in the relation of the cabinet to legislation and party discipline.

The English cabinet is a very ancient institution. It is not the creation of a written constitution, but is the result of centuries of slow evolution. It is really the king's privy council, which was originally a select body of the king's advisers. It existed before the house of commons, or even parliament. This privy council has varied in number, being sometimes as small as twelve and other times consisting of over thirty members. Under certain circumstances, when the king wanted to accomplish an object which he could not safely submit to the whole council, he would call together a select number of the council consisting of those most likely to accede to his will. The repetition of this established the custom of an interior council, which grew to be the cabinet. Although the cabinet has no legal existence, by the power of custom it is an inseparable part of the British constitution, and with the growth of the power of the popular branch of parliament this cabinet has come to be not merely the adviser but practically the dictator to the crown.

In the power over legislation as over everything else, the monarchy has become merely nominal; the form, however, of appointing the cabinet or privy council still remains. After a popular election the queen nominally selects a prime minister, but in reality he is elected by the people. The queen cannot choose whom she will, but she must choose for prime minister the recognized leader of the political party successful in the election. On one occasion Queen Victoria endeavored to depart from this rule, but she was compelled to retrace her steps. Through a dislike of Mr. Gladstone, because he dis-established the Irish church and abolished the purchase of commissions in the army, the queen determined not to appoint him prime minister again. After the election in 1874, when the liberals secured a great majority in parliament, instead of sending for Mr. Gladstone, who was the recognized leader of the liberal party, she sent for Lord Hartington, but his lordship did not dare accept the office. He recommended her majesty to send for Mr. Gladstone, which she was finally compelled to do, it being impossible to organize the house of commons under any other leader. Thus, while the form of appointment of the prime minister by the crown still exists, in fact the crown has no real choice in the matter.

The theory of the cabinet is that it is not partisan, being part of the queen's privy council, and may be composed of the most able men from either political party as the sovereign may desire. With the growth of popular government and political party organization this has disappeared, and the cabinet is now composed exclusively of members of the triumphant political party. The cabinet thus formed is responsible for the administration of the government and the entire legislation of parliament. It is responsible to the monarch on one hand and to the people on the other. By the

oath of office it is honor bound to protect the established interests of the crown, and on the other hand by its political traditions and party professions it is bound to be true to the political principles represented by the dominant party in parliament, which for the time being represents the popular will. The rest of the privy council remains non-partisan.

Before parliament meets the cabinet advises or rather informs the crown of the program or policy which is to be pursued by the government, in relation to both foreign and domestic affairs. For instance, in 1868 the issue in the election was the dis-establishment of the Irish church, to which the queen was strongly opposed, yet the prime minister "advised" her that a measure must be introduced dis-establishing the church in Ireland, and in the speech from the throne the queen (Mr. Gladstone) announced that such a measure would be introduced and hoped that parliament would adopt it. The queen's speech (or prime minister's address) thus outlines at the beginning of the session the legislation to be introduced. The cabinet prepares the measures and introduces them through one of its members, all of whom have seats in one or other of the houses of parliament. Measures thus introduced the party is politically bound to support. If a cabinet is defeated, it is regarded as a vote of "want of confidence" in the ministry, and it resigns, which means that the opposite party goes into power or a new election is ordered, as the prime minister may decide. In this way the entire legislative policy is shaped and the measures prepared by the cabinet, and thus party responsibility for legislation is definitely located in the administration, which holds the power of resignation or a dissolution of parliament as a whip of party discipline.

It is in the functions and power of the cabinet, thus evolved, that the English government differs from that

of the United States. In this country the cabinet is composed simply of the president's secretaries of the different departments. These secretaries or members of the cabinet are not members of either branch of congress, hence they have no authoritative influence over legislation. Indeed, they are regarded as hardly more than head clerks in the different departments of the president's office. The president himself is regarded as only an executive officer, who has no right even to influence legislation. The making of laws is none of his business; his only function is to administer the laws made by congress. The result is that instead of the administration being at all responsible for the legislative policy, it can influence it only by lobbying with political patronage as the coercive power. Under the necessity of this method the lobby has grown up, and at several periods has acquired a very questionable reputation.

There being no official representative of the administration in either branch of congress, all measures have to be introduced by individual members and thrashed out on the floor of congress. In lieu of cabinet preparation and responsibility for measures, we have standing committees. Everybody is at liberty to introduce whatever measure he chooses, and it is referred by the speaker to the appropriate committee. This committee may put it in a pigeon-hole and let it stay there until the close of the session, or report it at once, as it determines. Here again is a wonderful opportunity for the prolific use of the lobby, and it is not too much to say that doubtful influences have been used, both to have measures reported favorably and to have them permanently pigeon-holed, according to the interests of the lobby. This is perhaps one of the worst features of the legislative machinery in this country. It is not peculiar to congress, but obtains in all

the state legislatures as well. While there is more or less leadership in our legislatures there is no real headship and responsibility. There is no executive power which can command the party action, either as to the character or number of the measures to be adopted or the course of opposition to be pursued.

The irresponsible town-meeting character of our state and national legislatures, and the lobby influence upon committee work and individual members, is an obvious defect in our governmental system, universally recognized. In not a few instances it is little short of scandal.

As the remedy for this great defect in our legislative methods Mr. Bradford advocates the introduction of cabinet responsibility, making the administration party through the cabinet (members of which should have seats in the house and senate) responsible for the legislative policy; and he certainly makes out a strong case. Doubtless he attributes too many virtues to cabinet responsibility, but his treatment of this subject is both historically and logically thorough and comprehensive. When he digresses, however, into the field of taxation and economics, lauding the English for having adopted the ideal policy in free trade and an income tax, he shows that he is wandering in an unfamiliar field. On these subjects he writes much like a novice, but in the historic review of the evolution of political and parliamentary institutions his work has the touch of a master hand.

The work is true to its title and is a very able presentation of the "Lesson of Popular Government," which no one can rise from reading without feeling that the author has made a real contribution to the subject.

ADDITIONAL REVIEWS

WHY MEN DO NOT GO TO CHURCH. By Cortland Myers, Minister at Baptist Temple, Brooklyn, N. Y. Cloth, 16mo, 60 cents. Funk and Wagnalls Company, New York and London.

"Whatever has been said or written upon this problem," observes Mr. Myers in his Introduction, "has been usually a fragment of the truth, a segment of the whole circle." We are obliged to add that his own book is no exception to this rule. Indeed, we fear it is a very small segment of the whole circle.

This is not because he does not ascribe sufficient importance to his topic, however. He considers that those who do not attend church are living "in heathenism in the center of civilization and Christianity;"—implying that the influence of the church is limited to those who are actually connected with it, which is not true of any organization or institution in human society. Moreover, he has a marked unfriendliness for evolution, considering it "a serpent-like and deadly" foe of religion;—which is another total misconception. Evolution does not solve or pretend to solve the mysteries of the origin and destiny of man, but leaves theology a free hand in creating its own hypotheses on these points. Mr. Myers seems to have the feeling that something of a return to earlier theological conceptions would increase the interest of men in the churches,—a singular idea for this age. His remark that: "There are modern Philistines in trusts and monopolies, and in labor organizations, which the chosen people of God must courageously fight, if they keep their own safety and command the respect of the world," is an example of that easy assumption of divine authority for the preacher's notions, however inflamed,—, and logic, however loose,—, which is one of the very reasons why many men of affairs

and keen intellect become estranged from the church. Being thus publicly invited to endorse the pulpit on its industrial and economic judgment rather than its religious influence, they lose confidence and interest in it.

The church need not and ought not to give up its chief mission of appealing directly to the individual religious conscience, trying to point out personal duties and throw light on the problems of individual life; but in the very doing of this it must frequently touch upon questions of the broader social and economic relations of men. Whether it ought to devote more attention to these matters, distinctly apart from their religious bearing, is a much disputed problem, but in any event it is daily becoming more and more important that whatever is said on such questions be the result of careful and painstaking study of the science to which they belong, and not the mere promptings of superficial sentiment. Because the pulpit has been somewhat inclined to regard theology as supplying all the light it required in discussing biological evolution, philosophy, economics and sociology, is one of the reasons why so many men in this age have drifted away from it. They have felt that the church either should stick to its particular field, or, if it adds new functions, should first become similarly informed and expert in them. The church has an immense legitimate and necessary work, but to perform it most effectively it must not lag behind the rest of the world. Mr. Myers hardly touches upon this point, and really we fear contributes very little to the solution of the problem he attacks.

LORD CLIVE: THE FOUNDATION OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA. By Sir Alexander John Arbuthnot. Longmans, Green & Company, New York. Cloth, 318 pp. With two maps and frontispiece. \$1.50.

The author admires Clive to the point almost of becoming an apologist for some of the moral defects usually associated with the famous founder of England's Indian Empire. Undoubtedly, however, he is justified in testing Clive by the standard of his own time rather than by the severer tests of later nineteenth century ethics. The history of early English rule in India is a chronicle of wholesale and unblushing corruption, especially on the part of subordinate officers. The influence of this state of affairs reacted upon and powerfully affected the course of English home politics, which were none too pure anyway. Clive made himself very rich by accepting gifts from native chiefs, but in view of the unlimited opportunities for plunder open to him, and the general uncertainty of moral standards on the subject, he might well exclaim, as he did on his public examination in England in later years: "I stand astonished at my own moderation."

It was not claimed that Clive's acceptance of gifts affected his faithfulness to the interests of England or of the East India Company. These were never permitted to suffer at his hands. Indeed, by his skill and energy as a soldier and great good sense and judgment as an administrator, he really did lay the foundation of British rule in India. When he reached India, a poor clerk in the service of the East India Company, in 1744, English interests there consisted only of a string of disconnected trading posts along the coast. When he left for the last time, in 1767, the whole province of Bengal, which includes Calcutta, and also a long section of the eastern coast extending for a considerable distance inland were in the possession of the East India Company, and British interests and prestige were supreme in the contest for expansion of territory in that part of the Orient.

Clive apparently estimated the value of his services

at a considerably higher sum than he was likely ever to get either from the East India Company or the British Government, and accepted gifts from the Mir Jafar as an easy expedient for squaring himself. Says our author (p. 224):

"That Clive would have scorned for the sake of personal gain, under any circumstances, to take a course which he knew to be inconsistent with the interests of his country is proved by the whole of his career, and among other instances by his conduct in making war on his own responsibility upon the Dutch, at the time when a great part of his fortune was in the hands of the Dutch East India Company. And whatever errors he committed in the two transactions above referred to, these errors were nobly redeemed by the energetic onslaught which he made during his second government of Bengal upon the system of oppression, extortion and corruption which then prevailed."

Nevertheless, the transactions by which Mir Jafar was made native king of Bengal, while not necessarily detrimental to British interests, involved in themselves breaches of faith and the acceptance practically of bribes which even our author says "it is impossible to justify."

For these and other matters he was bitterly attacked in England after his return; but Parliament, after protracted discussion, instead of condemning him adopted resolutions commending his "great and meritorious services to the country," and left him in undisputed enjoyment of his wealth. Imagine such an outcome to the career of a public man in America to-day, who should be chargeable with the same kind of offence! Imagine General Otis, for instance, having overrun the island of Luzon, setting up and supporting Aguinaldo as a native king and accepting enormous gifts from him in return, and then coming back to America for

popular vindication and official endorsement. Verily, our belief in the moral progress of the past century is not a delusion.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Break-up of China. By Lord Charles Beresford. Cloth, 8vo, ornamental, uncut edges and gilt tops. With portraits and maps. 514 pp. \$3.00. Harper & Brothers, New York and London. The author spent the latter months of 1898 in visiting British communities in China and studying trade conditions. His book, therefore, is largely of the nature of a report on commercial opportunities as affected by existing political conditions and rivalries. The only alternative to the "break-up" of China, in his judgment, is greater encouragement to and protection of foreign commercial interests.

EDUCATIONAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL

A System of Ethics. By Friedrich Paulsen. Translated and edited by Frank Thilly, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Missouri. Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York. 8vo, \$3.00. In this book the emphasis is laid on the practical application of ethical principles to the problems of actual life. An historical section, reviewing all the great systems of moral philosophy, beginning with the Greeks, precedes the author's discussion of ethical principles and definition of virtues and duties.

Page's Theory and Practice of Teaching. Edited by E. C. Branson, A. M. Cloth, 382 pp. \$1.00. American Book Company, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago. This new edition of an old standard work will be welcomed, and the more so perhaps because it is provided with many notes, outlines and quizzes, adapting it

for class-room work. There is also a biographical sketch of Page, and editor Branson has added a chapter on "Fitness to Teach."

ECONOMIC AND HISTORICAL

History of American Coinage. By David K. Watson. Cloth, 278 pp. \$1.50. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. This is just the kind of a book that is of real service in the discussion of the money question. Impartially and accurately it relates the history of the coinage laws of the United States, the conditions that promoted their passage, the arguments that were made pro and con, and the results that followed. It carries the record back to the first erection of a mint by the colony of Massachusetts, in 1652; covers the colonial era, the period of confederation, the establishment of the mint of the United States in 1792, and subsequent coinage and financial experience down to the present. There are seven appendices, consisting mainly of official documents and reports.

Outline of Practical Sociology. With Special Reference to American Conditions. By Carroll D. Wright, LL. D. Cloth, large crown 8vo, with maps and diagrams. 464 pp. \$2.00. Longmans, Green & Co., New York and London. The wide range of information at the command of Col. Wright as U. S. Commissioner of Labor entitles him to describe American sociological conditions, and this was the task undertaken in the present volume. The book is descriptive and practical rather than analytical and theoretical. The seven Parts deal respectively with The Basis of Practical Sociology, Units of Social Organism, Questions of Population, Questions of the Family, The Labour System, Social Well-Being, The Defence of Society, and, Remedies.

THE BEST IN CURRENT MAGAZINES

Scribner's contains "The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson, from Bournemouth, 1884-1885," edited by Sidney Colvin; also an article on "Daniel Webster,—With unpublished manuscripts and some examples of his preparation for public speaking," by Senator Hoar.

The *Atlantic Monthly* opens with an article on "English Imperialism" by William Cunningham. There is an article on "The True American Spirit in Literature," by Charles Johnston; and Elizabeth Washburn contributes "Chinese Sketches."

Among the well-known contributors to *Harper's* are I. Zangwill, William Dean Howells, Senator Lodge, Frederic Remington, Worthington C. Ford and John Kendrick Bangs.

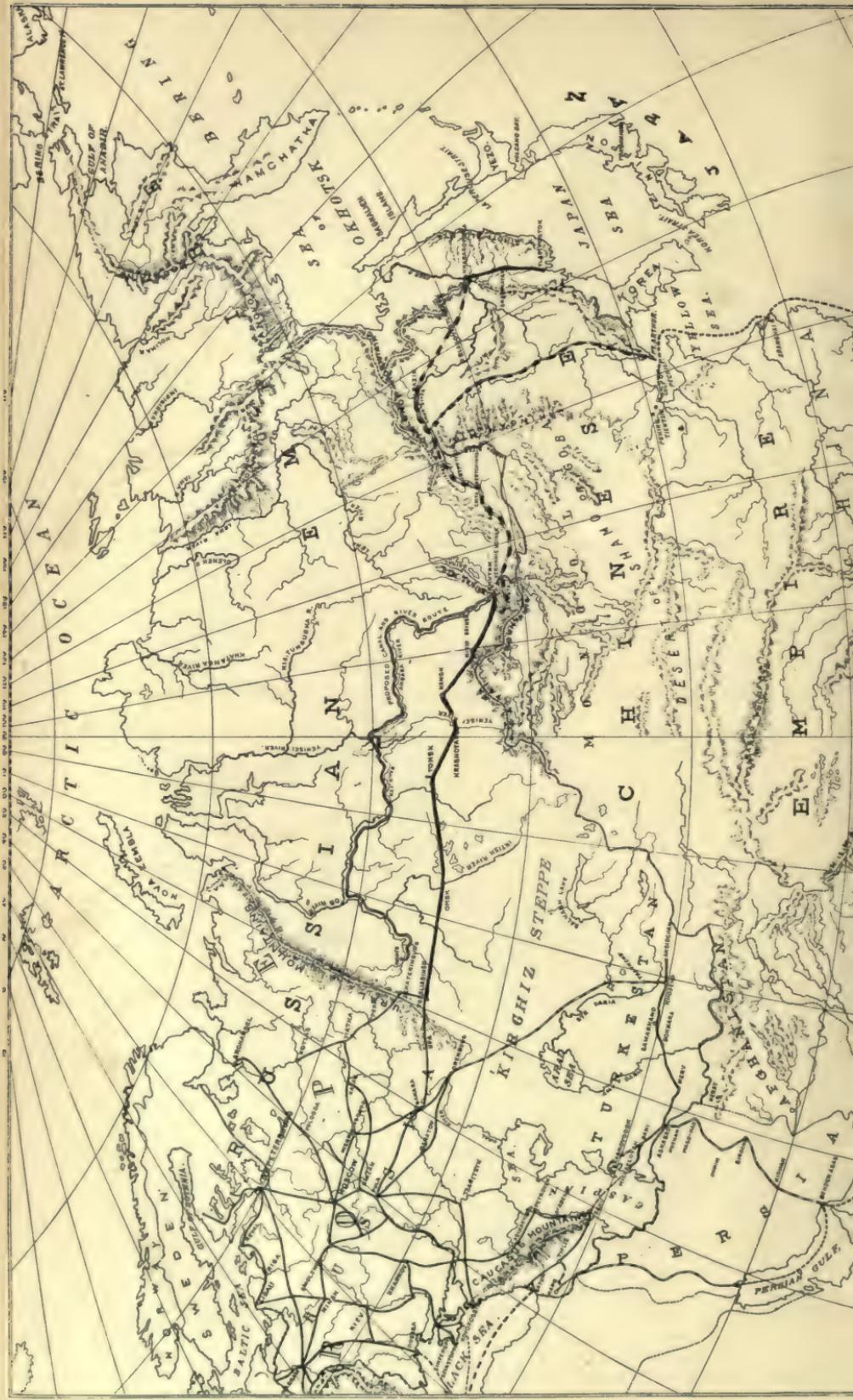
Lippincott's contains "The Teller," by Edward Noyes Westcott; this being the only posthumous work left by the author of "David Harum."

An illustrated article on "Rosa Bonheur and Her Work," by Ernest Knauff, is a prominent feature of the *Review of Reviews*; and another interesting contribution is "Modern History and Historians in France," by Pierre de Coubertin.

Three articles on Sir Walter Scott, one on "Bret Harte in California" and one on "Stevenson in Samoa" are to be found in the *Century's* July table of contents.

In the *New England Magazine* there is an illustrated article on "The Last Letter of John Brown," by Charles H. Small, and an account of "New England Colonial Liquor Legislation," by Ernest H. Baldwin.

McClure's opens with a very interesting article on "The Automobile in Common Use;—What it costs,—How it is operated,—What it will do," by Ray Stannard Baker. Professor Simon Newcomb has an illustrated article on "The Unsolved Problems of Astronomy."



GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

ECONOMICS AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

THE TARIFF AND TRUSTS

The latest outbreak on the subject of the protective tariff and its relation to trusts was caused by Mr. H. O. Havemeyer's testimony given before the Industrial Commission on June 14th. Almost in the opening sentences of his carefully prepared and typewritten testimony he declared that: "The mother of all trusts is the customs tariff bill." This gave a new text to the anti-trust and particularly the anti-tariff preachers throughout the country. For political purposes, the anti-trust issue was in a rather unsafe condition. To be sure, Mr. Bryan was proclaiming loud and long against trusts. He and his friends decided to make this a prominent if not the conspicuous issue of the coming presidential campaign. But he has insisted on coupling with it the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1, which is economic dynamite to the conservative men throughout the country.

So that, in reality, every fresh boom for the anti-trust movement was a lift for free silver. Free traders, who generally favor sound money and even declare for the gold standard, would rather have trusts than take Bryan with 16 to 1. Consequently, some of the ablest among free trade journals have defended the present administration, justified its foreign policy, and occasionally given a quasi-justification for large corporations, all because they are afraid of carrying grist to the Bryan mill. But Mr. Havemeyer came to their relief in his testimony before the Industrial Commission, with the declaration that: "The mother of all trusts is the

customs tariff bill." This statement has been hailed as the word of a political deliverer. It has been caught up and repeated, made the subject of acres of editorials and hundreds if not thousands of cartoons, as if it were the last word upon the subject.

The usually dignified journals, which ordinarily display self-possession and intelligence in discussing public questions, have fallen at the feet of Mr. Havemeyer as a new prophet of economics. That the yellow journals, 16-to-1 advocates, populists and socialists should make much of his utterance is not surprising, since they feed chiefly on the foam of sensation; but to find the sober papers and magazines vying with the gutter journals in this substitution of sensation for rational discussion indicates that the stream of public opinion is being polluted at its very source.

As a part of this sensational spell, General Alger, the unpopular Secretary of War, as a bid for election to the United States senate has announced that he is "opposed to trusts" and favors the election of United States senators by popular vote; and Andrew Carnegie, whose greatest notoriety is associated with the Homestead strike, retires from business with \$150,000,000, declaring himself against trusts and the bequeathing of great fortunes.

All this tends to show a dishonesty of utterance on public questions. The talk against great wealth by millionaire journalists like Bennett, Hearst and Pulitzer, iron-handed and flint-hearted capitalists like Carnegie and Havemeyer, and millionaire politicians like Alger and Pingree, of course is not to be taken seriously. They are performing to the galleries, they are catering to a public sentiment that has been created by systematic traducing of successful business men for political purposes. This is so general that frank, honest discussion of the public aspects of industry has become

difficult and in many quarters impossible. Intellectual integrity in this field of public interests is rapidly being submerged and superseded by economic cant and public sensation. The extent to which this is taking place is painfully illustrated by the way in which the Havemeyer testimony is heralded and extolled by the press throughout the country.

From the homage paid him immediately after his testimony before the Industrial Commission, one might think that he was a statesman or economist whose opinions on important public questions should have great weight. Yet, really, he had never been suspected of anything of the kind. He has never said or done anything to entitle his opinion on matters of public concern to any special weight whatever. Mr. Havemeyer is known only as the president of the so-called "sugar trust," whose reputation is the most unsavory of any large industrial concern in this country. His trust has been notorious as a stock manipulator. It plays ducks and drakes with its own stock in the market place, making large profits out of unsuspecting investors. Under Mr. Havemeyer's leadership the sugar trust has been the most conspicuous as a manipulator of congress by doubtful methods. As recently as 1894, when the Wilson bill was before the United States senate, his trust was the most active factor in the lobby. He then believed that a high tariff was a very good thing, and labored long and hard to secure it for sugar. Indeed, his activity for high protection to sugar created a national scandal. Bold corruption and bribery were openly charged in the senate, and a committee was appointed to investigate the matter. At the hearing before this committee certain of Mr. Havemeyer's witnesses, conspicuous employees of the trust, were sent to jail for refusing to answer questions, which it was feared would have placed upon the sugar trust the crime of corrupting the United States

senate. Nothing more scandalous has occurred in the public affairs of the republic.

At that time the free trade journals in the land furiously denounced Mr. Havemeyer as a low, selfish monopolist, a corrupter of legislators and a debaucher of public morals. His opinion on the tariff or any other public question was then regarded by the press as of no more account than the brawlings of a cheap politician or a cunning monopolist. Nothing has occurred since to indicate that Mr. Havemeyer is either more intelligent, more public spirited or more honest now than he was in 1894. But now, when he appears before the Industrial Commission and declares that the tariff is the "mother of all trusts," his utterance is hailed as from one who speaks *ex cathedra*. If he believes that trusts are really a bad thing, then he is a disreputable man for being at the head of one. If he does not believe that, then he is a humbug for saying what he did. If trusts are legitimate and proper concerns, as he afterwards endeavored to show, then it would be nothing against the tariff if it were the mother of them all. It is a public benefit to be the mother of a good thing. The fact of the matter is that Mr. Havemeyer is neither honest enough, nor economist enough, nor public spirited enough either to know or care whether trusts are good or bad, or whether they are helped or hindered by tariffs. His talk was illogical and contradictory and very clearly a case of "sour grapes" whining. Whatever may be the public interest in the case, Mr. Havemeyer's statement on the subject is utterly worthless, both from the moral and economic point of view. The only thing of significance in the Havemeyer situation is the fact that the press, after having treated him as a conscienceless corruptionist, should pretend to attach any importance to this obviously soured utterance. This fact is alike discreditable to the press and dangerous to the public sentiment of the nation.

But how much truth is there in Mr. Havemeyer's charge that: "The mother of all trusts is the customs tariff bill?" This is not a matter of opinion but a question of fact, and it is the one statement in his address which is most heralded throughout the country. If Mr. Havemeyer is half as well informed on this point as those who are repeating his statement would have us believe, he knows that more than 90 per cent. of this statement is false. In the first place, there are but one or two trusts in the country. Mr. Havemeyer knows that the American Sugar Refining Company, of which he is president, is not a trust. As a trust it was disorganized by law, and it is now simply a large corporation. The Standard Oil trust was the first, the largest and about the last trust, since it is just now about to be reorganized into a single corporation, just like any cotton or woolen or publishing corporation.

The only corporation of this kind whose existence can be at all charged to the tariff is the so-called tin plate trust. That is due to the tariff only because the existence of the industry itself is due to protection. Before the tariff of 1890 there was no tin plate manufactured in this country. The protection afforded by that measure made the investment of capital in the manufacture of tin plate in this country possible. Through the use of modern methods and Yankee industry, the American producers soon undersold the foreign producers and supplied the entire American market. As soon as it became an established industry, competition became sufficiently severe to reduce the price not only far below the foreign but below the profit-making point of all except a small proportion of the very best concerns. Reorganization for the sake of economy and efficiency became necessary in that industry as it has in hundreds of others, and in fact as it always does with industrial development. What were

the plants of a number of tin plate manufacturers are now the property of one corporation. As previously explained in this magazine,* although the price of tin plate has been somewhat increased with the rise of wages and raw material, tin plates are \$1.10 a box less than when they were furnished, duty free, by English manufacturers.

The existence of the industry in this country was due to the protective tariff; but the reorganization of smaller concerns into a large one was due, not to the tariff, but to the competitive rivalry and needed economy in the business. There is no other industry in the country to which Havemeyer's statement is even approximately applicable. Take the great Carnegie concern, which is as much a trust as is the Standard Oil Company or the American Sugar Refining Company, or any other large corporation, called "trust," in the country. It is one of the largest iron and steel works in the world. It probably could not have come into existence if there had been no protective tariff for iron and steel, yet does Mr. Havemeyer or anybody else in his senses pretend to say that the Carnegie Company is a monster trust created by the tariff. The tariff gave the first stimulating opportunity to the iron and steel business, but Carnegie proved to be a superior industrial organizer. Under his leadership and management, the Carnegie corporation became a financial success. It acquired the leadership in its line in this country and may ultimately in the whole world. It is now furnishing steel rails to foreign countries at a lower rate than the manufacturers of any other country. This concern is reported to have just received an order for 180,000 tons of rails from the Russian government, an order that would keep its plant running for nearly two years.

*May number, 1899. Page 329.

The steam and surface railroad corporations and syndicates, large telegraph companies, colossal corporate concerns in every line of industry are the result of one general cause, namely: the extraordinary industrial development of the country. Wherever industrial progress is rapid and permanent large enterprises arise, and conversely where industrial development is slow and meagre small individual concerns with restricted capital, primitive methods, high prices and low wages prevail. Hence large concerns are more numerous in the United States than anywhere else, and as industry develops they are making their appearance in England, France, Germany and other countries. The simple and well-nigh obvious fact is that large corporations follow business prosperity and progress, whether under protection or free trade. Whatever contributes to industrial development helps to build up large corporations, and whatever will destroy business prosperity will stop the growth of so-called trusts. To say that the tariff is the mother of trusts is to say that the tariff is the mother of business prosperity, which is not wholly without truth.

Witness the great surface railroad corporations in New York and other large cities throughout the country. They come the nearest to being monopolies of anything in the land; they have given and are giving cheaper and better service than was ever before rendered to the public and are making immense profits, all of which is made possible by the general prosperity of the community, without which they would not have come into existence here any more than they have in China. Only to the extent that protection has promoted that prosperity has it helped to bring these great corporations into existence. The greatest "trust" in the country, the Standard Oil Company, does not depend upon tariffs at all. This concern has developed to one

of the largest industries in the world, has vastly improved the quality of its product, lowered the price to the community, and made a large fortune for a great many people, without government aid. For efficiency, permanency of business and employment, scientific experimentation and benefit to the public it has scarcely any equal in the world, and all that has been accomplished, not by tariffs, but by the use of large capital and superior organization.

It is high time that at least the decent part of the American press awoke to the importance of infusing integrity and fairness into the discussion of public questions. The political and social integrity of the nation is far more important than any party success. No amount of political advantages can compensate for debauching public opinion, misleading and confusing the people on great industrial questions.

Tariffs and trusts should be discussed on their merits, separately. If large corporations are a menace to public welfare, let that fact be established by the data connected with corporate industry, and if tariffs are a bad thing, let that be shown by the facts arising out of tariff legislation. But to confound the two when they have no necessary connection is demagogery, not discussion. To raise the alarm that large corporations are monopolies which oppress and rob the people, and in the same breath declare that protective tariffs are the cause of trusts, is at once to juggle with subjects and destroy popular confidence both in our political and industrial institutions.

RECENT STREET-RAILROAD STRIKES

Strikes are always a matter of public concern, but strikes on city street railroads are especially so. Street railroads, and for that matter all railroads, are not entirely private concerns. To be sure they are built by private capital and conducted for private gain, but they depend on public franchises and are really quasi-public institutions. The convenience and business interests of the public are directly dependent upon the safe and continuous running of the railroads. In this respect they are quite unlike shoe factories or iron foundries. When these are stopped the public is not seriously inconvenienced. The laborers for the time sacrifice their wages, and the capitalists their chance of profits and perhaps their business connections. But this loss in both instances is practically limited to the parties who voluntarily enter into the contest. If they make shoes or steel rails a little more difficult to obtain, other concerns in the business will get the advantage, but the public is not seriously affected.

With railroads, particularly the surface railroads in large cities, the case is altogether different. Daily business is interrupted and direct loss is inflicted upon tradesmen, and immediate and acute inconvenience upon the entire traveling and business public.

Now, since the public in its organized capacity grants the franchise privileges to these corporations, it has not only a right to expect but a right to insist that as business concerns they shall be so conducted as to give no reasonable grounds for arbitrary interruption by strikes, and of this the president of the corporation or the master workman of the Knights of Labor is not to be the sole judge. The public has interests greater than either of these. The idea that the president of the corporation is the sole authority as to how and when

and why things should be done is at the bottom of very many railroad labor disputes. There is a large increment of truth in Carlyle's idea that when the people complain the people are always right. It is unquestionably true as a general fact in society that the people in any considerable aggregate never get up a fictitious state of discontent. On the contrary, they are rather slow to protest. That is true in politics. All sorts of despotism are endured from political machines before any real outbreak occurs. So too, of forms of government. Monarchy and despotism must be very oppressive before any formidable resistance arises.

This holds good also in the treatment of laborers by corporations. It is always with reluctance that a large body of laborers go on strike. Whenever they do so with great unanimity it may be taken for granted that there is a real grievance. The public has a right to demand that large quasi-public concerns shall be conducted with sufficient fairness and public spirit to render strikes unnecessary. As we go to press, New York, Brooklyn and Cleveland have strikes on their street railways. In all three instances the strikes have resulted in violence, which, besides disturbing business and interfering with travel, threatens the safety of persons and property.

Of course, nobody will defend physical force. The time for that form of remedying social evils is gone. Laborers who have recourse to that method can get no support and sympathy, and society is justified in suppressing at any cost that mode of conducting industrial disputes. On the other hand, however, the public is equally interested in the cause of the strike and the responsibility for the public inconvenience involved.

In the Cleveland strike the case is very clear. The corporation absolutely refused to recognize the right of the men to act in its organized capacity in dealing with

the company, while of course the company insisted upon acting in its organized capacity in dealing with the laborers. This attitude is a relic of the last century and is discreditable to the sense, public spirit and common fairness of American corporations. Any corporation, especially a quasi-public corporation, which has a strike for such an utterly unjustifiable reason should be held severely responsible for the outcome, whatever it may be. Moreover, according to the latest information, the Cleveland railroad company made certain definite promises a short time ago, on condition of which a strike was ended and the men resumed work. It appears that the company acted in bad faith, did nothing towards carrying out its promises, and hence the second strike. Of course the city will bring out its police and the state its militia, and suppress riotous disturbances, but the public in its collective legislative capacity ought to and will deal with corporations which deny the laborers' common right to do what the corporations do themselves, and then act in bad faith in their agreements with employees.

The Brooklyn strike, which ultimately extended to New York, was of a similar though less violent character. The men presented a number of grievances, chief of which was the violation of the ten-hour law. President Rossiter promised so to organize the schedule for trips that the men could make a certain number of runs within ten hours and at a rate of pay which gave two dollars a day. The fact is, however, that this is only rarely possible. The time schedule on paper is so arranged that the men can barely make the trips for which two dollars is paid in ten hours, provided everything connects exactly without loss of time—which does not occur in five per cent. of the cases; although President Rossiter can take his time table and show how it is arranged so that the men can make their two dollars'

worth of trips in ten hours, and seemingly conform to the law. But the men know, their wives know, and everybody connected with the actual work knows that they very seldom make the trips with sufficient precision to earn their two dollars within the ten hours, and hence in reality the ten-hour law is violated or else the men's wages are cut.

Now, it is not honest on the part of the corporation to say that the ten-hour system is being observed under those circumstances. The public, the legal authorities, the governor of the state, have a right to demand that this law be obeyed not merely by the technical tracing of a schedule but by its actual every-day working. The schedule should be so arranged as to make it not merely possible but certain, barring exceptional accidents for which the men should not be made to suffer, that the trips, ordinary delays included, can be made within ten hours. This is the chief grievance in the Brooklyn strike. President Rossiter's assumption that he is the sole judge of all this is a mistake. It is a matter in which the public and legal authorities of the state are equally interested with the laborers.

Moreover, the law prescribes what corporations shall do on the matter of the hours of labor. It is that ten hours constitute a working day, which means that if the wages of the men are two dollars a day their work shall be so arranged that they earn two dollars within the legal ten hours. All dodging of that is subterfuge, evasion of the law, dishonesty alike to the workmen and to the public. The corporation may win in the present strike, but that will not settle the question. The ten-hour law must be obeyed; if it is not there will be another strike, and the public will again be inconvenienced because the corporation is violating the plain law of the state. The workmen may be unreasonable, corporations may be austere, but the people have a

right to demand that public officials see to it that the law is enforced. If this is not done the laborers and the public will be justified in assuming that the corporations can evade the law with impunity, which will strengthen the growing sentiment that railroads should be taken from corporations and run by the government.

The Brooklyn, New York and Cleveland strikes are manifestly unnecessary business disturbances, which need not, ought not, and would not have occurred if the management of the corporations had lived up to the spirit of the ten-hour law and recognized the now conceded right of laborers to act as organized bodies. Both strikes emphasize the need of better and more intelligent organization among laborers, and of a permanent, established system of conferences between representatives of the corporations on one side and labor unions on the other. The Brooklyn and New York strikes were precipitated unwisely, without specific statement of a strong case, and without unanimity among the men themselves. More effective organization, and discussion of the case in a joint board of representatives of employers and laborers—a “Labor Senate”—would have either made the New York strikes successful or prevented them entirely, and in the Cleveland case would have forestalled the chief and almost only cause of the whole disturbance.

A PERTINENT QUESTION

"In a series of articles now running in the *Outlook* on 'America's Working People,' by Mr. Charles B. Spahr, he states that during his investigations in New England he discovered that the wages of factory laborers during the last twenty years had been reduced from forty to fifty per cent. He then makes the significant observation: 'As between the first-hand testimony of men who have spent their lives in making cotton and the official statistics of a partisan census, there was no question which to trust!' It would probably be interesting to many of your readers to know why, if he is correct in his statement, it is so often and persistently stated by others that wages in the last thirty years have doubled."—A. J. Thompson, San Francisco, California.

The question asked by Mr. Thompson is very pertinent. If Mr. Spahr's statement is correct it is indeed strange that everybody else should be affirming the direct opposite. Mr. Spahr is a bright, earnest young man, and no doubt thinks he is stating the exact truth. He thinks he is making an investigation. There are two ways of making an investigation. One is to get the colorless facts and present them; another is to look for special kinds of facts and see them through special kinds of glasses. There is some truth in the adage that one can generally find what one looks for. Mr. Spahr is mentally built on the pessimistic, falling-wages plan. He sees economic phenomena of the last thirty years through silver spectacles. To him the demonetization of silver in 1873 started a downward trend of everything. This mental quality was the chief defect in his book, "The Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States." He expects to find wages falling because the price of silver has gone down, and consequently looks for it.

That this state of mind has much to do with the correctness of Mr. Spahr's economic vision is clearly demonstrated by several things in his article from which Mr. Thompson quotes. For instance, on page 286 (*Outlook*, Feb. 4, 1899) he says: "Thus the famous

Aldrich report of 1893, compiled under Labor Commissioner Wright and Professor Falkner, assumed that all clerks' wages had risen forty per cent. in twenty years, because a dry-goods store in New Hampshire reported this increase." Now Commissioner Carroll D. Wright and Professor Falkner are both able, scientific statisticians, who know the value of data and whose reports are likely to be accepted in preference to Mr. Spahr's off-hand unverified remark that the generalization of clerks' wages for the whole nation is based on the wages of clerks in a single New Hampshire dry-goods store. His remark that: "As between the first-hand testimony of men who have spent their lives in making cotton and the official statistics of a partisan census there was no question which to trust" sounds rather plausible, but in fact it is also flippant and essentially untrue. By this remark Mr. Spahr intends to give the impression that United States censuses are careless, doctored affairs, and that the facts given from memory by cotton operatives are altogether more reliable than the statistics taken by state authorities. The truth is that there is nothing more unreliable than this kind of "first-hand testimony."

In the first place, very few laborers are accurately informed as to the facts of wages for thirty years. They are always biased on the subject, and generally exaggerate in the direction of reductions and against increases. To say that the facts regarding wages, gathered in boarding houses and evening talks with operatives, are more reliable than those taken from the books of business concerns for ten, twenty and thirty years in succession by state officials, shows a looseness of statement which cannot be taken seriously. The Massachusetts Labor Bureau has a world-wide reputation for thoroughness and integrity of investigation. Its wage data, covering a period of more than one hundred years,

are gathered from the books of business firms. The facts given in these reports, which agree with numerous other investigations as well as the census, are quite contrary to Mr. Spahr's boarding house information.

Referring to the New England wages, however, there are several things that Mr. Spahr seems not to have taken cognizance of. He speaks of the case of Fall River, in which city he declares that wages have fallen fifty per cent. The facts are about like this: In 1875 the price for weaving print cloth was twenty-four cents per cut of forty-five yards. It is now eighteen cents. In 1875 the product per loom was five cuts per week, some expert weavers occasionally touching five and a half. Now the normal product is six cuts a week. It does not need any "first-hand testimony of men who have spent their lives in making cotton" to show that there has not been anything like a fifty per cent. reduction. A reduction of six cents on twenty-four is only twenty-five per cent. The increase of product of one on five is twenty per cent. Thus the fall of piece wages since 1875 has been largely neutralized by the increase of product; and even more than neutralized when the difference between greenback and gold wages is considered. The year 1875 was in the greenback period and wages were paid in depreciated currency, worth eighty-eight cents on the dollar, (gold being 114.9.) Mr. Spahr being a believer in fiat money naturally overlooks this fact.

Another circumstance is that during the last twenty-five or thirty years the class of cotton operatives has essentially changed. During the early seventies they were largely English and Irish. Since then the Americans, and very largely the English, have either moved up into positions of higher grade as overseers, or have left the mills and gone into other business; their places have been taken and the increase supplied by French

Canadians and Scandinavians, who have established a definitely lower cost of living. So that, while the wages of cotton operatives have not advanced commensurately with the wages in most other industries, the improvement of the condition of those actually in the mills has. The French Canadians who are in Fall River to-day have improved their condition, as compared with what they themselves were in 1875, equivalent to probably more than fifty per cent. advance of wages, and if those who were in the mills in the early seventies should be followed to their present positions it would be found that their income had also increased. But the fact is, the cotton operatives of to-day are not the same people nor the children of the same people as the cotton operatives in the same mills in 1875.

In order to ascertain the comparative state of welfare at the two periods, we must compare the incomes of the same people. Even if it were true that the Canadian and Scandinavian operatives in the cotton mills were to-day working for twenty-five per cent. less than were the English operatives in the same towns thirty years ago, it would not show a deterioration in the condition of the same operatives. What it would show would be the replacing of one set of operatives by a set socially lower. That is what has largely taken place in the factory towns in New England; so that, Mr. Spahr's statement that wages have fallen fifty per cent. in twenty years is not true either nominally or actually, and when all the circumstances connected with the cotton operative movement in New England are considered his statement amounts to a misrepresentation of the case.

EDUCATION AND POLITICS

In addressing the graduating class of 1899, at Ann Arbor University, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler took for his theme "Education and Politics." No more appropriate subject could be discussed before a body of young men just having received a university education and about to enter the world of practical affairs, and the graduates of Ann Arbor were especially fortunate in having the subject presented by Dr. Butler. He is Dean of the School of Philosophy of Columbia University and is eminent for his scholarship and learning; and he has, what is not always characteristic of university professors, an immense amount of practical common sense.

There has been for considerable time a tendency in college circles to look down upon politics as something mean and vulgar and to be avoided. To attend a caucus or political convention, or in fact to be in any way active in politics, is to drop to the plane of "politician," a term which is used by professors and eminently respectable people as indicating something below the desirable social standard. Indeed, to be at all scholarly, scientific and intellectually respectable, a young man must rather disdain politics. Practical politics is the attraction only of inferior people. It has been quite the habit in university circles to speak with disrespect and often with great contempt of everybody who participates in politics, and the more conspicuous they are the more they are legitimate objects of suspicion and questionable reflection. In fact, this negative and unpatriotic influence has been and to a great extent still is so prevalent in the circles of higher education that a college training in many instances almost unfits a young man for the duties of citizenship. This is all wrong. Instead of making the best educated and

most intelligent young men in the country enthusiastic citizens and inspiring them to active participation in public affairs, it deadens the spirit of patriotism and tends to make them political snobs and cynics.

In view of this deadening political atmosphere pervading so many institutions of higher education Dr. Butler's address is especially encouraging. It had in it none of the dawdling dilettante spirit. It was entirely free from supercilious pharisaism; it had the ring of sound political sense. It was the voice of the true political philosopher as well as of the virile patriotic citizen and scholar.

Dr. Butler had no patience with the idea that education should make people too good to be useful. He told the graduates of Ann Arbor that it is the duty of every educated man to be a politician, to take active part in the political affairs of the community; that every man should have political ideas and act with some political party. In no other way can the politics of the country be elevated and purified; in no other way can democracy be truly progressive and represent civilization. He laid down the doctrine in a clear and comprehensive way that under democratic institutions the government is what the people make it. If the most intelligent and personally disinterested people hold aloof from politics, by so doing they relegate the power of government to inferior groups. Political parties are the necessary instruments in organizing public opinion and converting it into public policy. To stand aloof from political organization because there are some objectionable people in it is to shirk the duties of good citizenship. It is not the evidence of social and intellectual superiority but of political cowardice and essential inferiority. The person who merely stands aloof and cynically finds fault with everything that is being done is not a good citizen, is not even a reformer.

The idea that to belong to a political organization is to be narrow and prejudiced, and that intelligent impartiality demands aloofness from political parties, implies a false conception of the whole principle of popular government. Political parties are the crucible of public opinion. It is only through organized political parties that public questions can be ventilated and discussed in such a manner as really to bring the subject before the people, and thus make the legislative action upon the subject truly representative of the people.

Dr. Butler's address has a virile wholesomeness that is refreshing in these days of so much snobbishness and cynicism among university professors. Nothing is more detrimental to the growth of strong political morality in the community than the constant berating of public men and political methods by the educators and professional classes. Anything which segregates the educated and more cultivated portion of the population from active participation in the political affairs of the nation, state and municipality contributes directly to the use of base political methods and the rule and supremacy of bosses. The boss system, in the Croker and Platt sense, is simply the organization of the political forces of the community on the plane of those who actively participate. Every segregation of the more intelligent and high-minded portion from political affairs lowers the standard of organized action and the character of the methods employed.

As Dr. Butler very clearly points out, the idea that it is the duty of every citizen to join the political party most nearly in harmony with his views of public policy does not imply that the methods of the unscrupulous boss should be sustained or even his leadership always followed. It does imply, however, that the effective

means of preventing the dominance of unscrupulous bossism and the degradation of public service is the free participation of the intelligent and moral forces of society in political organizations. Leaders can never lead except by the acquiescence of the followers. No boss can ever hold power in any political organization by methods much below the character of the great bulk of the active organization. Croker can rule with a high hand on a low plane in New York City, because the great mass composing the Tammany organization is of a low social and intellectual type. Even those who occasionally dispute Croker's right to rule and denounce his bossism do so only because of some dissatisfaction with his division of the spoils. The standard of political morality of Tammany Hall is division of the flesh pots. In order to have a higher standard of political methods in Tammany there must be a considerable influx of members into the organization with higher political ideas and conscience. No amount of mere standing off and refusing to act can bring about this reform.

In politics as in religion, organization is the instrument of clarifying and defining ideas and issues of public policy. Under popular government at any given time the sentiment and opinion of the public is usually grouped around one of two general political ideas. In England to-day, it is the ideas represented by the liberal and tory parties; in this country it is the ideas and doctrines of public policy represented by either the democratic or republican party. These parties are not matters of arbitrary creation. They have come into existence solely as the result of the formulation of two different sets of political ideas, originated mainly by Hamilton and Jefferson, as the bases of national policy.

Hamilton stood for a national policy for national development; and Jefferson for the decentralization of

political power and the localization of political authority. These two doctrines became the basis around which two political parties grew up, now the republican and democratic, representing two different political policies. The success of one or the other set of ideas has been the great incentive for strong intelligent men to present and defend the respective policies of the parties. This is a process of public education; the parties become in a sense the training schools for political philosophy. The press is likewise divided, for similar reasons, into two great groups, defending one body of ideas and attacking the other, and vice versa.

Under all normal circumstances the administration of the nation, state or city will be entrusted to the representatives of one or the other of these two parties. The perfection of the organization of these two parties from year to year and decade to decade involves the time and energy of a large number of people, the expenditure of vast sums of money, and in many instances the reputation of distinguished men; so that success is a matter of no small moment to many people individually as well as to the nation in its aggregate.

The great object of the managers, those who give their time and money to these political organizations, is success, just as it is in any great business or professional enterprises, or in college or church or social clubs. In the long run success will be aimed at by the most effective means available. What these means will be will depend very largely on the standard of intelligence and political morals of the community. If the public is indifferent and permits a small organized coterie to run the political machinery, then low methods, inferior candidates, evasive platforms and weak policies may be expected. On the other hand, if the public takes great interest in politics, and a knowledge of political ideas and principles is made a part of the

citizens' education, the plane of political information and discussion will be relatively higher, and the press and politicians will be compelled to rise to the level of this plane for recognition and support. Misrepresentation and sensation are only dealt out to the uninformed. The constant influx of young men educated in political ideas into the party organizations will force up the plane of political morality to the level of these men. In order to lead, the leader must rise at least to the level of the followers, and thus the plane of the boss is really determined by the plane of the members of the organization.

Political party organization, therefore, is a necessary feature of popular government. It is as indispensable as congress and a president. As Dr. Butler so clearly pointed out, it is manifestly a mistake to regard political parties as an evil. They are a necessity; they are the crucible of political ideas and public policy; they are the training school for public affairs, which it is the duty of every citizen to enter. Like every other social organization, political parties are likely to become rigid and run in a narrow rut. It is then that the worst phases of bossism make their appearance. Sometimes a strong manager or boss may be an unscrupulous man who makes party exigency more important than political ideas, and uses the influence of the organization for improper purposes; but this usually comes as the result of a dearth of live ideas in the party.

When issues die, bossism arises and political corruption sets in. When this degeneracy reaches a certain state, the question very properly arises as to whether the citizen's duty is to work for reform inside or outside the party. Of course, there can be no hard line laid down in political ethics on this point. Each individual must determine his action for himself, and certainly there are times when revolution is necessary.

Sometimes a general uprising is the only means available to accomplish the needed change. This has been true of nations, churches, and all forms of social and political organizations, but it is always the most expensive and most risky means of accomplishing the desired end. Whenever revolution is necessary, it is proof that needed reforms have been neglected. Reforms are the true security of progress and preventative of revolution.

Reforms go through three processes:—agitation, party organization, and official policies. Agitation is the common school of political ideas; it is and largely should be outside political organizations. It is the sphere of irresponsible discussion and propaganda. Agitation is the creation of public sentiment. If a small number of people are especially interested in promoting a competitive system of civil service, for instance, or the adoption of the eight-hour day, and the party to which they belong refuses to give ear to these propositions, it is not the part of good citizenship to leave the party and condemn political organizations as indifferent and corrupt. It is better to remain in the party, if its general policy is in accord with one's belief, and organize a propaganda for the specific new ideas outside the political organization and among people who favor them, regardless of other propaganda. In proportion as the new idea is rational and backed by good reasoning and practical sense, it will gradually command the attention of an increasing number of people. As this appreciation grows it will enter the political organization and be transferred from the sphere of irresponsible agitation to party discussions. As sentiment in its favor increases the leader who opposed will have to recede and one who favors will be chosen to lead. Thus party organization and party leadership becomes inoculated, as it were, with the growing ideas in the community.

New ideas are sometimes a little tardy in getting incorporated into public policy by this process, but on the other hand it furnishes an intellectual test of their feasibility and fitness. If new ideas were adopted immediately on being first proposed, they would usually contain so much error as to make matters worse than before. This is the method by which isolated ideas grow into public sentiment, party program and ultimately into national policy. To condemn political party organization is to thwart this natural evolutionary process of social and political reform.

The young men of this land should be taught that the political party is an American institution no less important than state legislatures, congress or the presidency, and equally inseparable from our form of government. No graduate of a high school, college or university should be permitted to go forth into the world without having had it impressed upon his mind that political parties are not necessarily corrupt cliques, but on the contrary that they are an inseparable part of the natural working of republican institutions, and that it is the duty of every citizen to act with the political party most in accordance with his ideas, as the most intelligent and efficient means of rendering patriotic service to his country, state or city. If the universities of the country would fall in line with the spirit of Dr. Butler's address to the graduating class of Ann Arbor, they would render a valuable and greatly needed service to wholesome political ethics. Instead of being, too often, nurseries of cynical sophistical mugwumpery, they would be the schools of virile active citizenship and intelligent American patriotism.

THE FUTURE OF INFERIOR RACES

Civilization to-day stands face to face with a problem that critically involves its own security and progress—the problem of what to do with barbarism. For the first time in history the lines are now sharply drawn and the contact is close, point for point, the world over. Such a final crisis was inevitable from the time that one great branch of the human family first began to forge ahead towards enlightenment, freedom, wealth and culture. It was a question of time only when civilization would so expand as to crowd upon the vast stagnant masses it had left behind in the dawn of history, and demand a share in the use and development of every part of the globe.

The tremendous expansion of civilization during the present century has greatly hastened this worldwide collision of the new and the old. Events have rapidly and silently moved towards the point where in some way or other the problem of what is to become of barbarism and the remaining ancient civilizations throughout the world was bound to come up sharply for final settlement. Within a year this point has been reached. Almost simultaneously England, Russia, Germany and France have forced open the doors of China, and the United States has taken in hand the destinies of Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippine Islands. This leaves practically no important group of backward people anywhere unchallenged by modern civilization and forced either to go down before it or step into line with the world's advance.

Now is the time of times, therefore, for asking ourselves not merely what the solution of the problem is likely to be, but what it ought to be. Are these eastern nations to be overthrown and western governments erected on their ruins, or are they, while freely admit-

ting foreign trade and industry, still to retain their institutions and develop in their own way? In other words, is the future of the Orient to be determined by military force or by natural evolution?

It seems necessary to say at the beginning that some races, sunk deep in savagery, may never enter the path of civilization at all. Like the North American Indians, it is probable that such races as the bushmen of Australia, the fierce hill tribes of the southern Philippines, the natives of Central Africa, Patagonia and the Brazilian forests, and most of the Pacific Islanders, will become practically extinct. Civilization has advanced too far beyond them to make any general assimilation possible, and has nearly always been under the harsh necessity of meeting savagery by force.

With semi-barbarous races and low civilizations the case is very different. Experience has shown that these can be made to respond to civilizing influences, when applied in the right way. Therefore, in undertaking to settle the future of such peoples we assume a most grave responsibility. The moral obligation to consider carefully what is the proper method of starting inferior races on the highway of progress is, or should be, all-compelling. Because we are practically obliged to meet savagery with force, it does not follow by any means that force and arbitrary imposition of our rule is the correct policy towards nations that have in them the possibilities of self-development towards civilization. Nor is it at all clear that this policy best serves the interests of the aggressors themselves, even from the most selfish point of view.

Throughout the whole of history, until very recently, military force has been by long odds more effective in international relations than industrial or trade influences. This was especially true during the later middle ages, when Europe's great colonizing

enterprises were going on. When savages were encountered, as in the Americas, no argument but force seemed available. When an ancient civilization was the prey, as in the case of India, exclusive possession at any cost was deemed all-important. Each nation seemed to prefer almost continuous war with its neighbors to letting any of them get the start in land grabbing.

Within the last half century the entire situation has been revolutionized. Industrialism has overtaken militarism and is now fairly outstripping it as the controlling influence in international affairs. Modern countries have become so bound together by financial and trade interests, involving not merely investments of money-lenders but the permanence of whole industries and prosperity of business, that no government dares adopt a war policy except on the very greatest provocation. More than this, in the opening up of new countries the great powers have much more to gain by peacefully adjusting their interests and agreeing on "spheres of influence" than by fighting for exclusive control of the whole field.

In China, for instance, trade opportunities and concessions to capital are the great objects desired, not the thankless task of taking over the government of a vast nation, hostile in sentiment, tradition, customs, religion and institutions to everything western. England has no desire to add another India to her empire. Her vantage-point at Hong Kong and the moral influence of British fleets and the British flag give her all the prestige she requires in commanding trade and capitalist opportunities in China. She does not need to own and govern any Chinese territory whatever to gain what she is really seeking. The same is true of France and Germany, and to a less extent even of Russia. The recent leases of ports to four of the great powers

do not convey any rights of sovereignty, but simply furnish vantage-points for the protection of future industrial interests in the East. Italy attempted at first to follow the other nations by demanding the port of San Moon for herself, but has abandoned even that effort. Her prime minister, Marquis Venosta, has declared himself "convinced that the policy of expansion and territorial occupation was not good for them, and that the wise course was to prepare the conditions which would enable them to take advantage of any future opportunities for commercial operations in China."

There are many signs that China appreciates this situation, and will save herself by throwing open the country. In addition to leasing important ports, numerous railway concessions have been granted, and in most large cities of the empire foreigners are permitted to engage freely in business. Once let railroads and factories and western business methods get a firm footing in China, and the Chinaman's ideas, habits and customs will naturally and silently undergo gradual transformation by contact with them. Expansion of activities, experience with discipline and organization, will create a new atmosphere of progress. When this comes, government, religion and customs will change and re-adapt themselves to the sentiment of the people. Then the regeneration of China will rest upon the improvement in the individual character of her people, and in no other way can the regeneration ever be brought about. It cannot be accomplished by any arbitrary setting up of what we might consider an ideal government over a people who are not prepared for ideal government or ideal anything else, and probably will not be for many generations. Even the emperor of China himself was unable to carry out the radical reforms he attempted suddenly to introduce last year.

The masses, content with the old system, absolutely refused to tolerate the innovations, and the empress dowager had to reassume authority and cancel the young emperor's program in order to prevent internal revolutions.

Japan is an example of exactly the kind of development that ought to and can take place in China if wise policies prevail. When the attention of modern civilization was first directed to Japan, her condition seemed even more hopeless than China's. The policy of conquest was not attempted, but foreign industrial privileges were secured and her own government became impressed with the advantages of western civilization. Railroads and factories were introduced, and the government liberalized itself in response to the rising spirit of progress, activity and freedom among the people. All these changes came about, however, under Japanese rulers and in accordance with Japanese notions, not by foreign administration of affairs. The island empire has progressed until, within the last few weeks, treaties have gone into effect which place her on an absolute equality of standing and recognition among the great powers of the world. From henceforth she is no more to be dictated to or served with ultimatums by any other power than are the United States, England, Germany, France or Russia.

Contrast with this the case of India under English rule. In many respects the situation is quite different, because of unlike racial characteristics, climate and history. Nevertheless, if there is anything in the idea that conquering an inferior people and ruling them on the "benevolent assimilation" plan creates civilization, certainly a century and more of effort on the part of the most successful colonizing power in the world ought to show some marked and hopeful results.

Yet in truth the results have been meager. Eng-

land's political overlordship has brought almost no perceptible change in the conditions, habits, ideas, beliefs and intelligence of the Hindoo people. It is practically the same stolid, imperturbable mass of poverty, superstition and caste despotism that England found when she began to take possession of the country. The races will not mix, and the government has settled down to a sort of perfunctory, bureaucratic affair. The hope of introducing western civilization by means of western armies and rulers has proved visionary. More and more the tendency is to leave matters to native magistrates to settle in accordance with native ideas. Mr. G. W. Stevens, a conspicuous writer on Indian affairs, has been discussing the situation in a series of contributions to the *London Mail*, from which we quote a few passages:

"The white man's say becomes daily less, the black man's daily more. . . . The new generation of Anglo-Indians is deplorably ignorant of the native languages; after a dozen years' service he can hardly talk to a cultivator or read a village register. Of the life, character, habits or thought of the peasantry—always concealed by Orientals from those in authority over them—the knowledge grows more and more extinct year by year. Statistics accumulate and knowledge decays. The longer we rule over India the less we know of it

"If any nation ever deserved the reward of good work done for its own sake it is Britain in India. And on this comes in the hideous irony that the reward of our work is largely failure, and the thanks for our unselfishness is mainly unpopularity.

"When we say we have given justice, we only mean that we have offered it—tried to force it upon people who dislike and refuse it. The gulf between Britain and native yawns as deep to-day—perhaps deeper—than when the first Englishmen set up their factory at Surat. Our very virtues have increased the gap that was in any case inevitable between temperaments so opposite as Britain's and India's.

"What else have we to count on for the regeneration of India? Christianity? It has made few converts, and little enough improvement in the few; is it not too exotic a religion to thrive on Indian soil? Actual fusion of blood has done as little. Language and education and assimilation of manners are powerless to bridge so radical a contradiction. What close intercourse can you hope for, when you may not even speak of your native friend's wife? Native women are antipathetic to European women; native women must not be so

much as seen by European men. . . . Men who know and like the natives best tell you that you can never speak with the best-known and best-liked of them for any time without a constraint on both sides which forbids intimacy. Nature seems to have raised an unscalable barrier between West and East."

Led on by a mushroom philosophy of "expansion," growing out of an accident; with almost no serious consideration of our own greatest mission in the world or understanding of oriental needs and conditions, the United States has attempted to break down this "unscalable barrier" by force,—an impossible task even if our armies conquer every foot of Philippine territory.

The present deplorable war is traceable to our own mistaken policy. So long as the Filipino leaders believed that our policy was simply to drive out Spain and pave the way for independence, as in the case of Cuba, no difficulty whatever was experienced in our relations with the natives. There was cordial co-operation and intelligent agreement as to the respective limits of authority. By our own invitation and on our own ship, Aguinaldo came to Manila and, in the language of Hon. John Barrett, our ex-minister to Siam and an ardent expansionist: "Organized with wonderful rapidity a provisional government, and in a short time had an army which was capturing Spanish outposts with the frequency of trained regulars. Within thirty days after his arrival he had taken over 2,000 Spanish prisoners and had practically gained control of all the country of Luzon outside of Manila, leaving that city to our mercy." *

It was by his aid that we were able to capture Manila before the signing of the peace protocol. "At the commencement of the Spanish-American war," says the *Hong Kong Telegraph* in a recent article, "the Americans had the confidence and respect of the Filipinos,

* "The Truth of the Philippine Situation," by Hon. John Barrett, *Review of Reviews*, July, 1899.

and a very small modicum of consideration and diplomacy would have enabled them to have retained those friendly feelings."

So far we were proceeding upon right lines. Suddenly the policy changed. We demanded of Spain full cession of the Philippines, and paid a cash price for the islands and people. Then the president issued on December 27th last a proclamation, anticipating the action of the Senate on the peace treaty, and declaring to the Filipinos that "the mission of the United States is one of benevolent assimilation" and "bestowal of the blessings of good and stable government upon the people of the Philippine Islands under the free flag of the United States." No hint of future independence was given. Already a new attitude of over-sovereignty and non-recognition, instead of friendly co-operation, had been adopted towards the native army and Aguinaldo's government. The *Boston Herald*, a strong expansionist paper, truly describes the situation at that time:

"The policy of ignoring all claims of our allies and helpers in the destruction of Spain's power in the Philippines was soon undertaken, followed by systematic hostile demonstration. We dropped the role of liberators and assumed that of conquerors, conquerors of our supporters, demanding of them a submission and abnegation of sovereignty in their own country as complete and humiliating as we demanded of Spain in respect of her colonies."

Under these conditions hostilities were inevitable and in due time were commenced,—no matter how the first clash came. On April 4th our Philippine commissioners at Manila issued a proclamation still further calculated to gain the friendship and ready submission of the Filipinos by this opening paragraph: "The supremacy of the United States must and will be enforced throughout every part of the archipelago, and

those who resist can accomplish nothing except their own ruin."

At present hostilities are practically suspended during the wet season. The Philippine government has not been overthrown; the defeat of Spain was a considerably easier task than this. According to a signed statement of official representatives of the Associated Press, the Scripps-McRae Association, the New York *Sun* and *Herald*, the *Chicago Tribune* and *Chicago Record*, the insurgents are in much better condition than General Otis's official dispatches have indicated. We are at present raising and dispatching to the islands another large volunteer army, and the prospects are for a long-drawn-out semi-guerilla warfare.

Of course, the immediate contest cannot now be abandoned. Having definitely entered on the task we must complete it, however disagreeable it is. To retreat and abandon the field now would bring us into contempt with other nations, and undoubtedly leave the islands in chaos. This may be admitted.

Expansionists insist that this is the whole and only point in the situation. It is not, by any means. If the general policy that brought on the Philippine war is a mistaken one, it is extremely important to point out the error of it and consider what should be done when peace is restored. Had we continued our policy of friendly co-operation with the Filipinos, demanded from Spain simply that she give up her authority over the islands, as in the case of Cuba, and announced our purpose gradually to establish self-government, looking to final independence or even annexation to the United States if the natives should so desire, when fitness was proved, it is altogether probable that we should have had no conflict with them at all. At any rate, our position then would have been morally justifiable, and, if an uprising had occurred during the carry

ing out of such a program, every sentiment of right, honor and duty would have approved our suppressing it. The question now is whether our proposed Cuban policy is feasible in the Philippines after peace is restored.

Without ignoring in any way the tricky, treacherous qualities of the native Filipinos, there is positive reason for believing that they are even better qualified for self-government than the Cubans, to whom we are bound by explicit official pledges to give that right. For testimony on this point we have no need to go to Edward Atkinson or unofficial "letters" from soldiers. To begin with, we have this opinion given by Admiral Dewey in a cablegram to the Navy Department sent from Hong Kong on June 27th, 1898, nearly two months after the battle of Manila Bay:

"Aguinaldo has acted independently of the squadron, but has kept me advised of his progress which has been wonderful. . . . Have advised frequently to conduct the war humanely, which he has done invariably. . . . In my opinion, these people are far superior in their intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba, and I am familiar with both races."

Brigadier-General Charles King, the famous soldier novelist, returns from service in the Philippines with this opinion of the natives, expressed in a letter to the *Milwaukee Journal*:

"The capability of the Filipinos for self-government cannot be doubted; . . . and, given a fair start, could look out for themselves infinitely better than our people imagine. In my opinion they rank far higher than the Cubans or the uneducated negroes to whom we have given the right of suffrage."

Ex-minister John Barrett, in the *Review of Reviews* article before quoted, says of Aguinaldo:

"By the middle of October, 1898, he had assembled at Malolos a congress of 100 men who would compare in behavior, manner, dress and education with the average men of the better classes of other Asiatic nations, possibly including the Japanese. These men, whose sessions I repeatedly attended, conducted themselves with great decorum and showed a knowledge of debate and parliamentary law

that would not compare unfavorably with the Japanese Parliament. . . . The army, however, of Aguinaldo was the marvel of his achievements. He had over 20 regiments of comparatively well-organized, well-drilled and well-dressed soldiers, carrying modern rifles and ammunition. . . . Along with the army there was a Red Cross association, at the head of which were Aguinaldo's mother and wife. . . . In the matter of native participation [in the government] I am a believer that they are capable of a much larger degree of responsibility than that for which they are commonly given credit."

Our vice-consul at Hong Kong, Mr. Wildman, wrote to *Harper's Weekly* last winter:

"Whatever the outcome of our policy in the Philippines will be, the islands will ever owe a debt of deep gratitude to Aguinaldo. He has made life and property safe, preserved order and encouraged a continuation of agricultural and industrial pursuits. He has made brigandage and loot impossible, respected private property, forbidden excess, either in revenge or in the name of the State, and made a woman's honor safer in Luzon than it has been for 300 years."

It has been urged that the Visayans in the islands south of Luzon would not accept the rule of the Tagals under Aguinaldo. There is no reason why they should. They are little if any inferior to the Tagals, would be on political equality with them, and could have so large a range of local authority as to prevent serious collision; or might even have a government of their own. Since the wild hill tribes must be met by force anyway, the Tagals and Visayans are quite as well able to cope with them as American troops would be.

Of course, to follow out such a policy might be for us a task of years, fraught with many discouragements. The native government would be far from perfect; but for that matter we have never felt called upon to invade the petty republics of Central and South America and set up our authority because they were in constant turmoil and revolution. Our theory has been that these people needed responsibility and experience in order to learn self-government, no matter if the mistakes outnumbered the successes for a long time. We have con-

sidered the test of their probable capacity for self-government to be in the strength of their demand for it. This is our present attitude towards the Cubans, even. Why may not the same reasoning apply to the Filipinos, especially if we remain on the field long enough to put the machinery of government in fairly smooth working order? The more able, intelligent and forceful of the native population would naturally come to the front in such a government, as they have already in Luzon, and administer affairs probably with more intelligent appreciation of native peculiarities than foreign officials ever could.

By retaining full naval and commercial privileges at Manila the United States would possess the only thing of any real value to it in the whole situation. We have at home thirty-nine times as much uncultivated land as the whole of the Philippine Islands. Of their products we already get whatever we want without difficulty, while their purchases from us are insignificant and will remain so for generations, no matter who does the governing. So far as influence in the Orient or trade opening in China are concerned, if we have a naval and commercial basis at Manila we do not need to own and govern the Philippine Islands any more than England needs to own and govern 115,000 square miles of Chinese territory opposite Hong Kong.

If ever there was a country whose prime mission to civilization lay in expanding upward, developing the highest possibilities of democratic civilization, as an inspiration, example and guide to the rest of the world, it is the United States. However great our resources and capacities of statesmanship, they might all be devoted to this stupendous task and plenty of opportunity still be left for more efforts in the same direction. We have labor problems, capital problems, race problems, poverty problems, municipal problems, politi-

cal problems, far from solution, many of them entirely neglected, and all fast becoming critical. These are not helped but seriously complicated by adding on groups of alien population far below our standard of civilization.

This is no time for the United States to dissipate any of its wealth, intelligence, public interest or statesmanship on an expansion-by-conquest policy that even European nations have practically abandoned as mistaken and out-of-date. Expansion to-day means expansion of commercial rights and moral influence, not buying and subjugating foreign lands and peoples. Civilization's duty to the eastern races is to introduce among them modern industrial and educational influences, and, with this effective stimulus, permit them to develop under their own institutions, customs and rulers up to higher standards of life and higher planes of intelligence, freedom and character.

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

AMONG THE objections most prominently urged against trusts during the last few months is that they throw traveling agents out of employment, and now the *Journal of Insurance Economics* adds that they tend to diminish the need of insurance. One would hardly have thought that saving the expense of drummers and middlemen and insurance companies could have been seriously urged as a public objection to industrial organization. If large corporations are to be condemned because they get along with fewer drummers, and are less liable to loss by fire and accident, then the whole movement of progress should be reversed. If the public can be made to take such reasoning seriously we may expect some day to see a combination between the insurance companies and traveling men to make increase of drummers and higher insurance rates a presidential issue.

THE SCHEME of Hon. Tom L. Johnson and Governor Pingree to play at philanthropy with the people of Detroit seems to have miscarried. Mr. Johnson was very anxious to do a great kindness by selling his railroads to the people of Detroit for \$17,000,000, in which he had the zealous co-operation of Governor Pingree. But this appeared to be contrary to the Constitution—which both gentlemen ought to have known. Then, being determined to do the generous thing, they had a commission appointed, including Pingree, which should buy the railroad from Mr. Johnson and run it “in the interest of the city” with three-cent fares, on the condition that if the three-cent fare did not pay the railroad should revert back to Johnson with a forty-eight year franchise and five cent fares. The milk in this cocoanut was too obvious. It was apparent that

this was a very easy way to get a new long term franchise for Mr. Johnson, on the plausible ground that the three-cent fare would not pay. The object was too plain for the public to miss, the plan failed, and Mr. Johnson left for New York in disgust. Oh reform, what humbug is perpetrated in thy name!

IT IS ENCOURAGING to note that the trust fever is beginning to wane, and business sense is again asserting itself. There has been a perceptible falling off in the number of reorganizations during the last few weeks. The action of the bicycle manufacturers in disbanding their \$80,000,000 organization and reorganizing with a capital of \$40,000,000 is a sign of returning sanity. The reorganization of industry, so long as any saving in the cost of production can be secured thereby, is proper and beneficial, but to make such reorganization the basis of doubling and trebling capital by merely multiplying the printed certificates of stock is the way to bring on a business panic, and the sooner it is stopped the better for those concerned in the reorganization as well as for the public. This mania for paper capitalization has done more lately to bring large corporations into disrepute than all other things put together. The people naturally resent humbug and fraud, and that is what much of the reorganization stock has been. If it is checked now and industrial organization is conducted on a sound business basis, we may escape any disastrous results.

IN A RECENT interview scoring anti-imperialists, Governor Roosevelt is reported as saying: "It cannot be too clearly kept in mind that the whole trouble is due to the men who for two months prevented the ratification of the treaty of peace." Whereupon the anti-imperialist *Springfield Republican* remarks: "Bless you,

Ted, the treaty was in the Senate only a month, from January 4th to February 6th, and the records show that it was delayed 'By the opposition, ten days; By the administration, nineteen days.' This is one for the *Springfield Republican*, which perhaps should not be begrimed, since it has so little to comfort itself in these days. But it also shows that neither youth, success, position, zeal nor patriotism are adequate protection for inaccuracy of statement. Really, too much is being made anyway of the opposition to the ratification of the treaty. Who can imagine that Governor Roosevelt, in the Senate, if convinced that taking the Philippines was a mistake, would have voted for the treaty or at least without protest and an effort to amend? This talk about the persistence of Aguinaldo being due to the Senate discussion sounds very much like a weak attempt to shift the Philippine problem onto the other fellow. It is not heroic or courageous. It is perfectly proper for the friends of the administration to say there is nothing for it now but to whip the Filipinos and establish order in the islands, and do it as quickly as possible at whatever cost. But it looks a little like whining to say: "The Senate did it."

IN THE death of Robert G. Ingersoll a remarkable and in some respects a distinguished man is removed from American public life. Brilliancy, kindness, bravery, frankness and intense patriotism were his conspicuous characteristics. In these respects he was a genuine American, especially of the West or middle West type. As an orator he had few equals in this or any other country. Although he was a colonel in the civil war and has taken part in every important political campaign since, he is known most widely for his heterodox views on religion; he was a veritable iconoclast. He had no respect for the traditions and relig-

ious sentiments of anybody. In his private character and home life he reached the highest Christian ideal. Practically he was a much better Christian than many who make loud professions of the faith. He was an exemplification of the adage that: "Some people are better by nature than others are by faith." Yet it cannot be said that Mr. Ingersoll was intellectually a great man. There is no subject to which he brought any special intellectual strength. He was not a statesman, nor in any real sense a political philosopher. He was a remarkable character, but not a great man.

THE NEW YORK *Journal of Commerce* thinks that: "At no time in forty years have the conditions been so favorable as they are now for a revision of the tariff in the direction of minimizing the interference of the revenue laws with the course of trade." That is what it thought in 1887, when it endorsed Mr. Cleveland's sixth-of-December message, the results of which in later years were so fatal to the industries of the country. The free-trade idea has such a strong possession of some minds that a year's prosperity under protection seems to be more than they can stand. No sooner are our domestic industries flourishing and we begin to export products than they begin to cry out: "We can adopt free trade now." They seem not to regard free trade as a means to an end, but rather as a state of millennium which is an end in itself. Destroy public confidence, disrupt our manufactures, anything if we can only snatch from the ruins free trade. It is less than two years since the present tariff was passed, which was rendered necessary by the havoc and disaster created by the last free trade experiment. We are just recovering from the effects of the Wilson Bill blunder, and now the *Journal of Commerce*, which is supposed to represent the business interests of the country, thinks

this the most favorable time in forty years for making another experiment. On most other subjects the *Journal of Commerce* is sane and frequently sound, but on free trade it appears to be crazy.

THE CHICAGO CHRONICLE has become somewhat alarmed at what it calls the "Cry for Young Men," by which it means the coming habit of substituting young men for the middle-aged and old men in productive enterprises. Despite the disposition of such journals as the *Washington Post* to pooh-pooh this alarm, the *Chicago Chronicle* raises a very important question. It is true that the tendency of modern industry is to retire workmen at a relatively early age and fill their places with young men. One great cause of this is the constant introduction of revolutionizing methods and machinery. When a man has worked at an industry forty years, he is not so alert in adapting himself to new machinery as is a young man. The inevitable tendency is to drop him out, and when once out it is doubly difficult for him to be re-employed except at some more simple and lower-paid occupation.

This is one of the hard phases of a rapidly progressive industrial era, but the remedy is not to stop the progress or to insist that laborers shall be retained after they have ceased to be useful. The real remedy is a system of insurance, the payment of which shall be a part of regular cost of production. It should begin when the employee commences work, at whatever age, and when he reaches a certain point of "diminishing returns" or declining economic efficiency, say at the age of sixty, enable him to retire on at least three-quarter wages. This would eliminate all element of charity, dispel the fear of humiliating dependence in old age, and relieve the employers from the odium of heartlessly discharging aged and faithful laborers.

THE RESIGNATION of General Alger as Secretary of War may properly be regarded as a victory for newspaper persecution. Probably nobody would pretend that General Alger is a particularly great or able man, but the continuous torrent of abuse heaped upon him since the outbreak of the Spanish war is a monument of newspaper persecution which has few equals in history. When the history of that war is impartially written it will probably be found that no part of the hardships endured by our soldiers was due to the indifference or conscious neglect of Secretary Alger, but chiefly to the sudden increase of the army, without preparation. We increased the army from 25,000 to 250,000 men in a few months, which made nine out of ten in the entire army new men. It is admitted in all competent circles to be impossible to add nine-tenths of inexperience to an army and not have an inordinate amount of mistake, waste and inconvenience. This would be true in time of peace. Yet, despite this, we conducted a successful war without suffering a single defeat, accomplishing a complete victory in a few months. The truth is that the attacks upon Alger did not arise out of his management of the war, but from previous political grudges. It began before the first shot was fired, and the unavoidable circumstances of the war were made reasons for increasing the extent and fierceness of the attack, with the result that he has been literally hounded out of the cabinet. This may be no great misfortune to the nation, but it is a reflection upon the ordinary fairness with which American public men are treated. In no other country could such a thing have occurred.

CIVICS AND EDUCATION MODEL LODGING HOUSES

KATHARINE LOUISE SMITH

Improve the surroundings of the people and the temptation to crime and vice will diminish. Banish filth and men will cease to love it. These are facts that force themselves upon the philanthropist of to-day. It is not alone in assisting people that philanthropy consists, but in helping people to help themselves. Wisdom, judgment and sanitary reform are all coming to the aid of the would-be helper of his fellow men. The fact has been demonstrated that not all who are shiftless desire to be.

It is a sad and sickening spectacle to see how, in the slums of our great cities, many of our brothers live. Danger lurks in the very air they breathe, disease is in the water they drink, unsanitary conditions surround and swamp them.

Glasgow was perhaps the first city to see the dangers menacing her people in the thickly crowded slums and in those hot-beds of vice and filth—the cheap lodging houses. There are now in Glasgow seven corporation lodging houses, in different parts of the city, giving nightly accommodations to 2227 persons. The lodger has the use of the kitchen, hot plates, cooking utensils and dishes. A shop near by is in connection with the lodging houses. Here a man may buy uncooked food at a nominal cost. These houses set up a standard of comfort to which other lodging houses have to conform, and the sanitary regulations necessarily become more stringent.

A new "Poor Man's Hotel" has recently been opened at Newington Butts, England. It is a handsome building. The domestic offices are situated in

the basement and the so-called common-rooms above them. The dining-rooms are large enough to accommodate 450 men. There are four large cooking ranges, with ovens, hot plates and grills. Near the dining-room is a store, where groceries and provisions are sold at cost price; also a pantry from which teapots, mugs, plates, etc., can be borrowed free of charge, and a scullery, where those who prefer to do their own cooking can do so. Sixpence per night is all a man has to pay for a comfortable residential club like this. This sum provides one with a good bed, use of kitchen, scullery, smoke-room and lavatory. Such a hotel is for the use of men alone. In Glasgow there is also a family home, which is an effort to assist deserving people to better themselves and children. In it are laborers who have lost their wives. Many of these men have children. They work all day and, by stopping here, have the satisfaction of knowing their children are cared for during their absence. The rooms in this hotel are large enough to accommodate one adult and two or three children. There are 160 rooms, plainly furnished, heated by steam and provided with electric light. Children are taken charge of during the day, those old enough are sent to school, and a creche is also provided for the youngest children. Each guest pays a daily charge to cover the rent of room and care and food for the children. This family hotel is intended to help those who seem to need it the most to spend their little earnings to the best of advantage to themselves and to those dependent on them. Institutions of this character show what can be accomplished for the benefit and welfare of the poorer classes. The chief thing which impresses one in these houses is the air of brightness, warmth, and cheerfulness that prevails everywhere, showing the extreme care that has been taken to secure the greatest possible amount of

light, air and cleanliness. Everything appears attractive and comfortable, and nowhere is sham or pretense.

The corporations that build these homes undertake to provide for worthy men, either in search of work or without homes. Glasgow has also one or two model lodging houses for women. Indeed, those for women have proved thus far the most successful. The large class of male lodgers resorting to cheap and filthy lodging houses, is a menace to the health and morals of any city, especially when they invade the quarters of the tenement poor.

Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham and other cities quickly followed Glasgow, and in London is to be found Rowton House, one of the finest lodging houses in existence. Lord Rowton was at one time private secretary to Beaconsfield. Believing that clean, wholesome surroundings, comfortable rooms and ample bathing and laundry facilities would enable men to find work, increase self-respect and raise the moral standard, he built Rowton House. Just as filthy, vermin-infested lodging houses had a tendency to make men sink lower and lower, this model lodging house elevates. Everything possible has been done to make the place a home for the lodger who patronizes it. Musical, literary and dramatic entertainments are given and the result is that morally and socially all that had been hoped for is accomplished. More than this, Lord Rowton receives a yearly dividend upon the capital invested. A stock company was organized and opened Rowton House No. 2, a fine hotel where for less than 12 cents per night men may enjoy every comfort. In this model lodging house laundry facilities are provided so that the men who seek employment may wash their clothes at night and have them dry in the morning. A cleanly appearance is one of the essentials in obtaining work.

Mr. D. O. Mills, of New York, was associated with Lord Rowton on the board of directors of a London railroad. Although a man over sixty he investigated the Rowton Houses thoroughly and returned to give his own city the best system of lodging houses in the world.

Formerly in New York men were crowded into rooms provided by the city and filled to their utmost capacity. In 1896 a building was fitted up as the City Lodging House of New York. Every lodger was given a bath, a clean night-shirt and clean bed, and his clothing sent to the fumigating room. Upon admission he was asked to give account of himself, his name and the addresses of persons who knew him. As soon as possible these persons were visited. Habitual vagrants was sent to the work house; the infirm to the alms house, sick to hospitals and non-residents to their homes. For the worthy poor who belonged in New York employment was found if possible. Thus much the city did. Mr. Mills investigated further. He found there were 112 licensed lodging houses for men in New York, with permits for 15,233 lodgers. Many of the tenements were also filled with male lodgers, threatening health and corrupting morals. Of 113 lodging houses, 55 were without bath and many had no hot water attachments. Frequently no soap or towels were to be found.

Mr. Mills determined to imitate Lord Rowton's example. Accordingly, on the site of old Depau Row on Bleeker Street, once the fashionable part of New York, now a tenement portion of low description, he built a hotel that will accommodate 1,500 men. This is larger than any in Europe. The building is ten stories, of clear gray stone, and within five minutes walk of Broadway.

The Mills Hotel is designed to meet the wants of

men who have no home in the great city,—men who come from the country, the unemployed, the clerk, business man, in fact any man who wishes to obtain good lodgings at a nominal cost. Everything is done to make it homelike and keep men from saloons and low resorts. Especial attention is paid to the social requirements of the men—reading, writing and music rooms being provided. The hotel itself is really two houses, connected with a tower containing elevator, staircase, etc. The interior arrangements are elegant. A marble staircase leads into a marble foyer. In the corridor are potted plants, green and flowering, while uniformed employees stand ready to give assistance. Everything is regulated as in an expensive hotel. The first floor contains offices, reading room, lavatory and bath. The other floors contain 1560 sleeping rooms, each opening on the street or courts. The usual size of a room is 5x8 feet. Excellent ventilation is obtained from corridor, and court, while the outside windows let in air and sunshine. Three elevators lead to these rooms. The glass covered courts in the center of each half of the building appear like a summer garden. The guests congregate there in the evening and chat, read or play games. Near by is a library well supplied with reading matter.

In the basement a good meal can be obtained for 15 cents, of soup, meat, vegetables, dessert, tea, coffee and milk. For a little sum one can obtain a dinner that elsewhere would cost 50 cents. Computing that one pays 20 cents a day for bare lodging, it will be seen that a man here can live well for 55 to 75 cents a day.

The bedrooms are fitted up with enameled iron bedsteads, hair mattresses and feather pillows. A manager and 150 men under him attend to the wants of the 1,500 guests. No liquor is sold on the premises and the patrons are as a whole respectable, orderly and

clean. In fact, there is no excuse for dirt, for there are not only rooms for washstands, but hot and cold water, shower baths and, as in the similar house in Glasgow, a man may do his own washing, and steam and hot water are provided to dry the clothes over night.

It will be seen that the Mills Hotel does not attempt to compete with the cheapest lodging houses. It does not, as in Glasgow, afford facilities for a man to cook his own food, but while it cannot drive the lowest lodging houses out of existence it saves young men of good character from the corrupting influences of such places. There is no doubt but that it is a valuable agency for good. There is cleanliness, comfort, beauty of simplicity, wholesome living, all things conducive to moral and physical well being. The hotel has been beneficial in diminishing the cheap lodging houses, often dens of vice, and of substituting in their place comfort and correct sanitary conditions, without any idea of charity being conveyed.

The hotel is not a congenial place for the tramp but is a comfortable home for the sober, industrious man of limited means, the clerk, drummer, laborer, minister, man out of employment. All are found here.

The need of hotels like the Mills Hotel in large cities is pressing, and opens the way for the philanthropic investment of capital. The problem of how to help those of small means seems in this way satisfactorily solved. And from a commercial point of view these hotels have proved themselves paying investments. Large capital is required, however, and hence corporations are desirable. On the one hand a man pays for what he gets, on the other the investor nets a certain per cent. yearly.

Mr. Mills is also interested in a block of model tenement apartments for families who are crowded into miserable tenement houses. Every city in America

should have one of these hotels. They are a living contradiction to the statement that people wish to live in filth and squalor.

A place like the Mills Hotel serves to show what might be accomplished for the benefit and welfare of the poorer classes.

A short time ago, at the suggestion of George Francis Train, the Thirteen Club of New York sat down to its 160th monthly dinner at the Mills Hotel. This democratic hostelry was taxed to its utmost to provide for the numerous guests. The invitations were to be limited to thirteen tables, of thirteen plates each, each plate to cost thirteen cents, and the guests to sit down at thirteen minutes past 7. So great was the interest in the hotel, however, that many more attended. American flags festooned the walls and bouquets of violets were sent by Mrs. Whitelaw Reid, the daughter of Mr. Mills.

There is at present a plan afoot in New York to build one or more hotels for the exclusive use of self-supporting women. This is urgently needed, and the hotels would be well patronized. It is estimated there are in New York 2,000 art students, 2,000 trained nurses and medical students, besides thousands of stenographers and professional women, who need such a home. It will be much like the Mills Hotel, and the proprietors believe it will flourish in spite of similar attempts which have failed. The hotel in Paris for American girls, founded by the late Dr. Evans, has been a great success, and the Y. W. C. A. homes in New York, Chicago, and other places, all attest to the value of such institutions.

CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL NOTES

The school boards of the boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx, in New York City, recently adopted a new schedule of teachers' salaries, carrying out the provisions of a law passed in the closing hours of the legislature of 1899. This law provides a sliding scale for salaries, increasing in accordance with length of service and merit of work. The salaries range from \$600 to \$1,476 for women teachers, \$900 to \$2,160 for men teachers, \$1,500 to \$2,750 for women principals, and \$2,500 to \$3,750 for men principals. The rate is somewhat higher for women teachers in the first and last years of the course than in the intermediate grades, as the work is considered more important and difficult. The total increased expense of this arrangement will be very considerable but the city can well afford it, and even as it is the top limit of what might properly be paid for this kind of service has not by any means been reached. The new schedule is a decided improvement on conditions where, as the teachers showed before the legislative committee, the pay of ordinary employees in the street cleaning department was more than that given to many of those in charge of the instruction of the city's children.

According to the last annual report of the United States Commissioner of Education, the public kindergartens of Chicago enrolled 4,644 pupils. The number now is 5,496. At the municipal election last spring it was voted to establish kindergartens for the instruction of children between the ages of four and six throughout the city, and, as there are 48,000 children between those ages in Chicago it will be seen that an enormous for-

ward stride is to be taken in the educational work of that city. It is a matter for profound congratulation that an agent of social regeneration so effective and far-reaching as the kindergarten is to be applied on this large scale. In its last report on the work of the kindergartens already established in Chicago, the board of education of that city says:—

“Thus far the kindergartens have been established in districts where the young children do not receive much home training, but spend most of their time on the street. The transformation in the actions, language, and spirit of the young children who are taken from the street and placed in the kindergarten is wonderful. At first many children are combative, resentful, rude, selfish, greedy, and show the perverting, degrading, demoralizing influences common to the undisciplined child. A few months' training in a good kindergarten makes these same children neat, obedient, self-helpful, thoughtful, and helpful to others; disciplines them unconsciously to right thought and action, and lays the foundations for the development of true men and women.”

St. Louis, Milwaukee, Los Angeles and St. Paul are other western cities that have welcomed the kindergarten and made liberal provision for it. How much longer will New York be content to remain far-and-away behind in this respect?

Much interest has been aroused by Rollin Lynde Hartt's articles in the *Atlantic Monthly*, on the degeneration of the inhabitants of certain New England rural towns. No names of particular localities are given, but the facts are authentic and reveal deplorable conditions. There is no reason why this should excite surprise, however. Heretofore, village life in this country has been saved

Stagnation and Degeneracy

from the stagnating and degrading effects it produces in the old countries of Europe by the fact of the inherited character of our people and the universal spirit of growth, enterprise and modern industry by which they have been influenced. De Tocqueville noted this even in the far cruder rural and pioneer life in this country half a century ago. "No sort of comparison," he said, "can be drawn between the pioneer and the dwelling which shelters him. Everything about him is primitive and unformed, but he is himself the result of the labor and the experience of eighteen centuries. He wears the dress, and he speaks the language of cities; he is acquainted with the past, curious of the future, and ready for argument upon the present."

Wherever these civilizing forces are still at work, and urban influences are reaching more and more directly into the country, the effects are still hopeful and progressive. But, take a community where the tide of progress has passed on and left no influence to operate except unrelieved country stagnation and isolation, and the certain results of that type of living will appear. This is the case with many of the old hill towns of New England. They are examples of physical, mental and moral degeneration, and it does not take a book or a magazine article to apprise anyone who has traveled through that region of this fact.

Corporations and trusts have been charged with causing the decay of many little rural communities, by drawing off their industries and best population. If they will only go on, now, and draw off all the remaining inhabitants, at least the young,—putting them into the strait-jacket of active industry, and thereby sharpening their wits, stimulating their interest in healthy activities and pursuits, and reviving their sense of moral duties and obligations, the large corporations will not only free themselves of any further condemnation on the score of the small village but earn public gratitude.

SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY

THE GREAT SIBERIAN RAILROAD

One of the very first conditions of modern industry and trade, modern enlightenment and freedom-secur ing movements, is rapid and safe transportation. In other words, civilization no longer marches but rides. While its beginning depends upon the slow growth of diversifying economic and social forces, its spread depends chiefly upon railways and steamships.

Siberia, appropriated and settled by Russians nearly three centuries ago, has had to wait for the Siberian Railroad at the close of the nineteenth century to bring the possibilities of genuine civilization and transform that immense region from a barren wilderness and political prison-house into a home of progressive and peaceful industry in touch with all the currents of the world's advance. Railroads are destined to perform an even vaster service for China, whose three or four hundred million people offer a field for western influences seventy times greater than does Siberia on the score of population alone.

Siberia, however, forms or will form a connecting link between this great oriental empire and the complex, expanding, progressive life of Europe. Indeed, when China's railroads now projected, connecting with British lines in Burmah, are completed, Siberia is more than likely to become a great highway of communication between Europe and British India for nearly all passenger traffic and a large proportion of the high class freight. The Suez route will be compelled to divide its long enjoyed monopoly of oriental traffic with the Siberian Railroad and its connecting lines through China.

The part of Siberia that is to be brought into touch with civilization by the Siberian Railroad and become

a populous, industrious country, is in area scarcely one-twelfth of all Siberia, or one-sixteenth of all the Russian possessions in Asia. Siberia covers nearly five million square miles, and could hold within its borders the whole of the United States and Europe, with room for almost all of Canada proper besides. This vast belt between the deserts and warm agricultural lands of central Asia on the South and the frozen Arctic ocean on the North stretches more than one-third of the distance around the northern hemisphere, but the greater part of it is either barren waste, bleak ice field, or forest territory which could not be used for agriculture even if cleared, because of the climate. The cultivable strip extends along the northern portion of China, thence westward to the eastern border of European Russia, and is estimated to contain about 400,000 square miles. If we assume all of the six million people in Siberia to live within the borders of this cultivable section, the density of population is only about fifteen to the square mile. The cities are few and small. There are only twenty-five or thirty of more than 25,000 population, and the largest of these, Irkutsk, has scarcely 60,000. Nevertheless, immigration from European Russia has been increasing lately on an enormous scale. During the eighties it amounted to barely 20,000 a year; in 1892 it was about 60,000, in 1895 100,000, in 1896 200,000,—almost as many as came to the United States from all other countries in 1898. The completion of the Siberian railroad, and probable early abolition of the Siberian exile system, will greatly increase the movement of Russian peasants thither.

It is not a land of extraordinary native richness, however; except perhaps in forests, which cover fully 2,000,000 square miles. The soil varies greatly in different parts of the country, but is uncertain in quality and in many places requires fertilizing. About half

the cultivable area is supposed to be good soil for wheat raising. The present annual yield of wheat is nearly three million tons, which it is estimated could be increased in twenty-five years to about ten million tons, or one-eighth of the total present wheat crop of the world. Most of the staple cereals are grown in Siberia, but the larger part of the product is retained by the peasants for home consumption. Stock-raising is carried on by Siberian settlers more extensively than by the Russians at home, but the cattle are relatively small and lean. Mineral deposits are quite abundant in Siberia, particularly coal, lead, gold, silver and iron. Except in the case of gold, no great amount of mining has been carried on because of lack of capital and of means of getting the product to market. Iron mining has developed considerably since the great demand for rails created a market right at hand. As population and business grow, these resources will be more and more thoroughly developed and furnish the basis of permanent, prosperous manufacturing industries in Siberia itself.

This is the country through which the great Siberian railroad is being constructed. It has already cost the Russian government more than two hundred million dollars, and may cost another hundred million to finish. It goes without saying that an enterprise of such magnitude, with such meager returns in view for a long period of time, was not undertaken primarily for economic or money-making reasons. It is first of all a military road, intended to strengthen Russia's influence in the East by connecting directly with the Pacific Ocean. It will provide an independent means of communication with Russian interests, present and future, in China.

The present Czar, during the lifetime of his father Alexander III, explored Siberia personally, gathered a

mass of information along the line of the proposed road, and laid the first block of stone in its construction, at Vladivostok in 1891. Practically all the work done so far, however, has been on the opposite or eastern end of the road. About 2,000 miles have been constructed, from Cheliabinsk, the western terminus, to Irkutsk, near Lake Baikal. The remaining distance to Vladivostok, along the Amoor river, about 2,700 miles, if the work is carried on according to the original plan, will be completed in 1905. Long before that, however, it will be possible to use the road for through traffic, because, at a point about six hundred miles east of Lake Baikal, the railroad reaches the navigable portion of the Shilka river, and on which the Amoor freight can be carried by boat to the Pacific.

Since the original plans were made, too, Russia has negotiated a treaty with China which gives her the right to build a line from Onon, on the Siberian railroad near this point of juncture with the Shilka river, south-easterly through the Chinese province of Manchuria to Port Arthur, on the north shore of the Gulf of Pechili, the waterway entrance to Peking. This line will probably be completed within two or three years, and Port Arthur will be the real eastern terminus of the Siberian railroad. The total distance from St. Petersburg to Port Arthur will be about 6,000 miles, nearly as far as from New York to San Francisco and back again.

The Siberian line is only a part of Russia's far-reaching railway plans in the East. In order to get an ocean outlet to the west of India, thus encircling by two great arms all the interests of England, Germany and France in Asia, two other lines are projected. Both of these will connect Russia's railroads in the trans-Caspian section of southwestern Asia with the Indian Ocean, one at the head and the other at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. A third road, now nearly

completed, will run through Turkestan towards China. Already Russia has lines extending eastward through the trans-Caspian country to Samarcand in West Turkestan, a Russian dependency. From Samarcand a 350-mile route is being built on to Andijan, on the border line between East and West Turkestan, connecting there with the ancient caravan routes running directly across the great level plains of Central Asia to China. Inasmuch as several railroads are projected from the Chinese coast cities westward along these same caravan routes, the natural assumption is that in time rail connection will be made with this new Russian line to Andijan, thus giving another through road directly across Asia, several hundred miles south of the Siberian railroad.

The portion of the Siberian railway already completed begins at Cheliabinsk, on the Siberian side of the Ural Mountains, about 160 miles east of the Russian boundary line. Russian roads connect from this point directly to Moscow and St. Petersburg. The Siberian road from Cheliabinsk follows almost a direct easterly course through the agricultural section lying between the great northern forests and the dry plains of the Kirghiz Steppe, passing the cities of Omsk and Tomsk, thence turning slightly to the South to Krasnoyarsk, where it crosses the Yukon River; northeast to Kansk and southeast again through Nijni Udinsk to Irkutsk, about forty miles west of Lake Baikal. The road was completed as far as Nijni Udinsk in 1897, and now has been carried to Irkutsk. About 60,000 men were reported as employed on the construction of the road in 1895, and more than three times as many in 1896. As the work nears completion the number of men is of course greatly reduced, especially on the sections west of Lake Baikal. Many of the laborers are convicts, exiled to Siberia, who have been given the opportunity to shorten their sentences by working on

the road. Wages for other labor ranges from fifty cents to one dollar per day.

Much of the road is easy of construction, and to hasten the work the ties and rails have been laid at some places right on the sandy plains. The rails used are mostly very light, some seventy-five but the majority less than fifty pounds to the yard. Most of the ties are obtained from Siberian forests nearest the line, and the rails from Russian or Siberian works. Some orders for rails have been placed in England, and it is believed that a very large contract with the Carnegie Company in the United States is under consideration. Naturally, the train service at present is very slow and inadequate. Even in Russia conditions are frequently endured which would not be tolerated by the public or attempted by corporations in the United States. For instance, one of the roads running from Moscow to the Volga river, about 650 miles, was practically blocked for three months up to the middle of last January, waiting for the river to freeze in order that rails might be laid on the ice. In the meantime, freight destined for Kasan, at the eastern end of this road, was piled up alongside the track for several hundred miles. All perishable matter, of course, decayed and had to be burned. Consignees, if they recovered their freight at all, had to do so by hunting it out from the mass of merchandise collected along the line of the road, and sending wagons for it. The estimated damages amounted to several million dollars, and great distress was caused in the famine sections by failure to get grain shipments through to destination. The railroad company's defence for this condition of affairs was nothing better than that it could not afford to build a bridge across the river.

On the Siberian road the speed of the fastest trains running between Irkutsk and Cheliabinsk does not ex-

ceed seventeen or eighteen miles per hour, and that of ordinary trains is considerably less. This is the best that can be expected until the government turns its attention to taking out the sharp curves, reducing the grades, improving the road-bed and putting in heavier rails. Two or three months ago it was reported in the *London Times* that the Russian government had appropriated about \$43,000,000 for improving in this way the western and central sections of the road. Nearly half of this sum is to go for heavier rails, and the balance for various improvements necessary to permit greater speed of trains.

At Lake Baikal an immense amount of work must be done. This is really the most difficult point on the whole line, from an engineering standpoint. The lake is an inland sea, about half way between Port Arthur on the East and Cheliabinsk on the West. It is almost half as large as Lake Superior, lies 15,000 feet above ocean level, just north of the Altai Mountains which divide Siberia from Mongolia, and is surrounded by high hills. The projected line of the railroad around its southern end involves nearly 200 miles of alternate tunneling, excavation and embankment, in rocky material. Pending the completion of this, it is proposed to carry the trains across the lake on a ferryboat, which is now being built. Since Lake Baikal is frozen over during five months of the year, this ferryboat must also be an ice-breaker, and to carry whole trains it must be of unusual size. It will weigh 4,000 tons, cost over a million dollars, and require a year or two to complete.

The stations on the Siberian railroad are about fifteen or twenty miles apart. The fares, as reported by a recent traveler over the line who related his experience in the *London Times*, range from about two-thirds of a cent per mile for second class passage on the western section to one and two-thirds cents on the eastern

and central section, between Krasnoyarsk and Irkutsk. When the line is completed the first class fare, from St. Petersburg to Vladivostok will be about \$120, and the time ten days. The journey from London to the far East by way of the Suez Canal now consumes thirty days and costs \$428.00. A trip around the world can then be completed in less than half the suppositious eighty days allowed by Jules Verne, regarded as a fanciful impossibility only a few years ago. Already the completed portion of the route does a relatively large business. During 1898 the western and central sections carried 650,000 passengers and 738,000 tons of goods.

That this railroad will mean a tremendous and perhaps overwhelming increase in Russian influence in the Orient cannot be doubted, whether the future of that region is determined by military or by industrial forces. The outlook for industrialism is now rather hopeful than otherwise. Militarism is being gradually strangled in the bands of growing international industrial interests. This great Russian enterprise is likely in the next quarter century to be many fold more important as a developer of Siberia and feeder of China's expanding markets than as a mere transporter of Russian armies and agent of Russian conquest and imperialism.

SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY NOTES

In accordance with a law passed by the legislature of 1899, the New York State Labor Bureau is hereafter to publish a quarterly Bulletin of industrial and labor information. The first number of this bulletin has just appeared, and among many other interesting items we note the fact that the number of unemployed members of trade unions within the state on the 31st of March was 7,244 less than on the same date in 1898, and 12,041 less than March 31st, 1897. The number of unemployed during the first three months of 1899 was 12,722 less than during the same period in 1897, but was 4,557 more than during the first three months of 1898. This, however, was due entirely to slackness in one industry,—the building trades—where the decrease in employment was more than 6,000, leaving a net increase in employment for the others.

Bradstreet's records the fact that Italy is rapidly increasing her manufacturing industries. Within five years her exports of manufactured goods have grown from thirty million to forty-four million dollars' worth per annum, and it is estimated that in the last ten years the total value of Italy's manufactured products has increased by about sixty millions per annum. Modern machinery and methods are being introduced; especially in the cotton industry, which now boasts two million spindles and more than one hundred thousand power looms.

This is more encouraging than anything we have heard from unfortunate Italy in a long time. The growth of her army and navy furnishes no source of hopeful prophecy; on the contrary, they represent a steady sapping of the resources of the nation and im-

poverishment of the people. Neither is there any permanent encouragement in reports of good crops, because the next year is quite as likely to show a crop failure. But the growth of manufactures points to the introduction of modern industrial life and activity, incoming of capital, rousing and disciplining of the population under the wages system, and removal of the necessity for slavish dependence on the soil as the only means of getting a livelihood. It will mean even more, and that is, a new growth of intelligence and public spirit among the common people. Once secure this, and the extravagant and useless effort of the government to make Italy a great military power, at the expense of the happiness and prosperity of its people, will not long be endured.

Labor unions are so often condemned for the vicious character of their leaders, and the injustice and petty Trade Unions tyranny practiced on non-union workers and and even on some of their own members Intemperance at times, that it is refreshing to find somebody testifying to a distinctly good moral influence exerted by these organizations. Mr. Henry W. Farnam, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, declares that the trade unions as a whole exercise a moral discipline over their members, especially in the matter of liquor drinking. "The development of labor organizations," he says, "and the increase in their power and responsibilities, has given them a strong incentive to watch the habits of their members. . . . The magnitude of their financial operations necessitates the election of temperate men to the higher offices, while the development of an elaborate system of insurance benefits gives each member a direct interest in the sobriety of his fellows. No member of a union likes to see his contributions,

laboriously saved from small earnings, squandered in the support of a drinking fellow member.

"The importance of conciliating public opinion during strikes furnishes another powerful motive for maintaining temperance in the unions. The result is that already many by-laws and rules of our larger unions contain special clauses inculcating moderation. In some cases no steps are to be taken to reinstate a man discharged on account of drunkenness; in other cases a man is excluded from the union who engages in the liquor traffic; in still others men are fined who attend meetings in an intoxicated condition; while in very many cases any person who loses his work, falls sick, or meets with an accident on account of the use of liquor is excluded from the benefits which he would otherwise enjoy."

What an enormous gain it would be for the cause of organized labor if the unions more generally would so act to make possible the same commendation on other lines;—for example, the wisdom and character of their leaders, moderation and order in strikes, reasonableness in particular demands, recognition of the rights of others, provision of economic and social education for their members, and freedom from socialistic hostility to modern industry.

CURRENT LITERATURE

MUNICIPAL MONOPOLIES *

This book is composed of nine essays advocating the public ownership of municipal franchises. It is edited by Professor Bemis, by whom three of the essays are furnished. Of the remainder, one is furnished by Prof. Bemis and F. A. C. Perrine jointly, two by Frank Parsons and one each by Max West, John R. Commons and M. N. Baker.

The two essays "The Telephone" and "Legal Aspects of Monopoly," furnished by Frank Parsons, are of the same character as his continuous articles in the *Arena*.

They are socialistic in the extreme. One can hardly read a page of his writing without feeling that his pen is dipped in gall against anything in the name or form of private corporations. This special pleading is so pronounced as to deprive what is true in his essays of the influence it might otherwise have.

Mr. Bemis writes with less animus, though with scarcely less bias. One would think from reading his essay on the latest electric light reports, and also those on street railways and gas, that private enterprise was an unmixed failure in economic production. The important consideration Mr. Bemis continuously omits to mention, or apparently even to consider, is the influence of corporate or public ownership upon future experimentation and improvement. He is constantly citing estimates and expert opinions on what it would cost to duplicate this or that railroad or gas plant, forgetting that the cost of duplication is not the cost of existing investment. In nearly all modern enterprises contain-

* *Municipal Monopolies*. A Collection of Papers by American Economists and Specialists. Edited by Edward W. Bemis, Ph.D. Thomas Y. Crowell & Company, New York and Boston. Cloth, 691 pp. \$2.00.

ing any newness of method, half as much and sometimes fully as much has been expended in experimentation as in the actual construction of the existing plant, and not necessarily by incompetence or waste, but in the most economic and scientific development of better methods.

To omit this fact is to omit an important item that will frequently vitiate the validity of the entire conclusion. It is exactly this expenditure for scientific experimentation that individual enterprise or private capital undertakes, and which public ownership might be reasonably relied upon to neglect. It is probably true of almost every railroad and factory in existence, which contains any appreciable newness of method, that it can be duplicated for very much less than the existing plant cost, because so much was expended in finding out the advantages of the existing plant; and duplication is not what the world wants. It wants progress, wants newness, not duplication. It wants better plants, improved plants, not a mere making of another like the one now in operation, which represents the intelligence often of twenty years ago. In this sense Professor Bemis's writings have a wonderful seeming of special pleading. He seems to bring out no principle or rule of action by which one class of enterprise or industry can be better managed by the public and others by private enterprise; nothing which throws any real light on reasons why public ownership is better than private; but creates the idea that private ownership is waste, greed and oppression, and public ownership skillful, honest, economic and patriotic,—to which common experience is an adequate answer.

Of course it is true that there are functions which the public can better perform in its collective capacity than can individuals by private effort. It is a part of economic science to discover and present to the public

the spheres in which individual and collective effort can work with greatest efficiency. There is much need of serious consideration of this sphere of economic action. When one picks up a volume described on the title page as : "A collection of papers by American Economists and Specialists," something of that kind is naturally expected, but, upon finding it to be composed of a series of semi-socialistic essays with the minimum of economic discrimination, the disappointment more than neutralizes the original anticipation.

Professor Commons seems eventually to recognize the fact that economic experimentation is not the function of government. In his opening paragraph he says: "I agree that government, whether national or local, cannot safely undertake experiments on a large scale. The assumption of new functions must be shown to be not merely desirable in the interests of a few, or adapted to the doctrinaire ideal of a well-rounded form of government, but it must be shown to be necessary and essential for the preservation of important interests affecting the welfare of the entire body of the people."

This is eminently sound, and if it had been made the guiding principle in these essays we should have had a very different book. Experimentation is the work of the expert, not of collectivity, which at best never represents more than the mediocrity of society. Governments can only do well those things the methods of doing which are well established. The public is like an army or a horse—it can do well only that which it repeats often and by routine, but never that which needs new application of the specialist verging on genius. The public is a slow, plodding mass, but it is never a genius. For this reason, public ownership of economic functions will usually be less successful under democracies than under despotism, because under despotism the management becomes more nearly the action

of a single mind, whereas under democracy it has to be an agreement of public opinion, which is the slowest and most doubtful mental action on any untried proposition. It is undoubtedly true that some productive enterprises may be transferred to the public with advantage, but only when the period of experimentation is practically over and economic methods have become tolerably well established. All enterprises in the state of experimentation or evolution of method will progress much faster under private enterprise, where for a time the gains of the improvements shall inure to the inventors of the device. For this reason it is not a valid argument to assume, because a railroad has been successful in the hands of a municipality, that therefore gas and electric light plants and telephone service would be. The success of the one does not warrant the assumption of success in the other, unless it has reached a similar state of perfection of method.

One of the best essays in the book is that on: "Municipal Franchises in New York," by Max West. This is an excellent historic account of railroad and other franchises in New York City. It furnishes a large amount of valuable information regarding the different horse car, cable and electric roads, their history, capitalization, etc. Of course, Mr. West believes in the public ownership of all such franchises, but he is scientific enough not too frequently to substitute his socialism for his fact. Yet his bias in favor of public ownership occasionally crops out in spite of him. Thus, in the excellent description of the Brooklyn Bridge, its cost, revenues, etc., he says (p. 48): "In the fourteen years during which the bridge railway has been in operation, often in the midst of dense fogs, there has been only one fatal accident; but it is noticeable that whenever a break-down occurs it occasions [much more remark than a similar mishap on the elevated railway."

This is a real slip away from the facts. The elevated railway in New York City has been remarkably, extraordinarily, free from accidents. Indeed, it has almost none, and the few that have occurred have mostly been by people's own recklessness; as, in one instance, climbing on the cars after the gates were closed and the train started, and in another where a woman deliberately threw herself under the engine to commit suicide.

Whatever the vices of the elevated railroad, it has been remarkably free from accidents. And yet it has had more criticism in the press than almost any other institution in New York City. For several years it has been the almost continuous object of attack, the slightest opportunity being then taken full advantage of. There was some justification for this in that the rolling stock of the elevated railway has been neglected and the lighting and cleanliness of the cars have not been what they should be. Nevertheless, it is not true to say that much more ado is made about a break-down on the Brooklyn Bridge than about a similar mishap on the elevated railroad.

If the reader will take the facts and make due allowances for the bias of the opinions of the writers, considerable valuable information may be acquired by a reading of this book, but as a discussion of the economic principles underlying public and private ownership of industries it is likely to mislead quite as much as to instruct.

ADDITIONAL REVIEWS

WASHINGTON THE SOLDIER. By General Henry B. Carrington, LL. D. Lamson Wolffe & Co., Boston, New York and London. Cloth; illustrated; 431 pp. \$2.00.

By almost universal agreement Washington's title to fame rests not so much in his exceptional genius in any one particular line of effort as in the masterly ability with which he filled a number of functions vitally important to the successful launching of the American republic. General Carrington considers, however, that in the special field of military generalship Washington is easily entitled to rank with the greatest military geniuses of the world. "The character of Washington as a soldier," he says, "is not to be determined by the numerical strength of the armies engaged in single battles, nor by the resources and geographical conditions of later times. The same general principles have ever obtained, and ever will control human judgment. Transportation and inter-communication are relative; and the slow mails and travel of Revolutionary times, alike affected both armies, with no partial benefit or injury to either.... Never, even in that wonderful campaign [first Italian campaign] did Napoleon strike more suddenly and effectively, than did Washington on Christmas night, 1776, at Trenton. And Napoleon's following-up blow was not more emphatic, in its results, than was Washington's attack upon Princeton, a week later, when the British army already regarded his capture as a simple morning privilege. Such inspirations of military prescience belong to every age; and often they shorten wars by their determining value."

Certainly Washington had to contend with some difficulties that were almost unknown to the other great

military commanders of history. No general ever had such unpromising material to handle, as regards discipline and obedience to stern authority. Washington's soldiers were independent colonists, each of whom considered himself entitled to serve or not pretty much as he pleased, and the fact that the whole struggle was one for freedom from oppression made the task of organizing, training and commanding men of this type exceedingly arduous. That Washington was able to maintain an effective organization through eight years of conflict is one of the weightiest evidences of his many-sided military genius.

It is difficult to realize at this distant time, and under conditions so totally different from those which prevailed a century ago, how inconsequential and hopeless an affair the American revolution must have appeared, for a considerable time, to the outside world. During long periods the condition of the American troops and status of their cause was hardly better than that of the Cubans during their revolution, before the arrival of American aid. Washington's report to congress from Valley Forge, in December 1777, reads very much like a good many of the reports that came to this country from the interior of Cuba two or three years ago. "The numbers had been reduced," he wrote, "since the fourth of the month, only three weeks, two thousand men, from hardship and exposure. Two thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight were unfit for duty, because barefoot and otherwise naked. Only eight thousand two hundred men were present for duty."

In April, 1776, only 8,303 out of 10,235 men were fit for duty. In August of the same year 3,678 were sick, in a total army of 17,225. In September, one month later, less than 20,000 in a total of 27,000 were fit for duty. In October 8,075 were sick or on fur-

lough, in a total of 27,735. "The camps at Morristown, Valley Forge, and at the South, were scenes of great suffering, distress and waste. The suffering was greater in crowded and stationary camps than when on the march. Special diseases like the measles, then as ever since, prostrated great numbers who suddenly changed house for canvas shelter." The effective British force in the country during the war was more than double, and sometimes three or four times, that of the American forces.

It is interesting to note the relative contributions made to the American army by the different states. This information General Carrington gives in an appendix. Massachusetts furnished more than twice as many as any other state,—69,907. Connecticut supplied the next largest number, 31,939. Next Virginia, 26,678; Pennsylvania, 25,678; New York, 17,781; Maryland, 13,912; New Hampshire, 12,497; New Jersey, 10,726; North Carolina, 7,263; South Carolina, 6,417; Rhode Island, 5,908; Georgia, 2,679; Delaware, 2,386.

The book gives a very graphic account of the campaigns of the revolution, particularly those with which Washington himself was personally identified. Maps are included, showing the disposition of forces in most of the important battles. While of special interest to the military mind, no one can read this volume without an enhanced conception of the masterly qualities of the man who excelled as patriot, statesman and administrator no less than as planner of the campaigns and winner of the victories that secured American independence.

THADDEUS STEVENS. By Samuel W. McCall. Cloth. Gilt tops. 369 pp. \$1.25. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York.

Mr. McCall, as congressman from Massachusetts, is a member of the same great legislative body in

which the famous Pennsylvanian of whom he writes did his best work and gained his renown. Thaddeus Stevens was perhaps the most active figure in congress during the entire period of the civil war, and it is with this portion of his career that the present biography principally deals. He served two terms previously, however, (1849 to 1853), and became conspicuous for his pronounced anti-slavery views and opposition to the famous compromise measures of the period. When he re-entered congress in 1859 he was already sixty-eight years of age, but in the succeeding nine years, until his death on August 11th, 1868, he did the real work of his life.

Our author relates very interestingly the story of Stevens' vigorous and practical leadership throughout this period, particularly on the great problems of finance, emancipation and reconstruction, including the long fight against President Johnson. In this he took so active a part that Johnson publicly exclaimed in a ranting speech at Cleveland: "Why not hang Thad. Stevens?"

While by no means a master of finished rhetoric or impassioned eloquence, Stevens was a very effective orator by reason of two pre-eminent qualities—intense earnestness and ready wit. Mr. McCall tells a number of capital stories illustrating Stevens' keen sense of humor and the constant use he made of it. One of these we must quote:

"Stevens and Cameron were far from being warm friends. Even the State of Pennsylvania was not quite large enough for two such positive characters to associate peacefully together in the leadership of the same political party. Stevens was informed that Lincoln was intending to appoint Cameron to an important office, and he called upon the President to enter a remonstrance. What he said about Cameron was far

from flattering as well also as far from definite. ‘ You don’t mean to say,’ said Lincoln, ‘ that Cameron would steal?’ ‘ No,’ said Stevens, ‘ I don’t think he would steal a red-hot stove.’ This was too good for Lincoln to keep, and he told it to Cameron. The latter, not unnaturally, failed to show a keen appreciation of the humor of the remark, and soon afterwards a member of the house, who sat near Stevens, observed Cameron come into the hall in high dudgeon and enter into a very animated conversation with Stevens. Cameron said that he had been greatly injured and that Stevens should retract what he had said. Stevens endeavored to pacify him, and finally consented to do what Cameron asked of him. He called upon Mr. Lincoln, and this was the manner in which he made amends. ‘ Mr. Lincoln,’ said Stevens, ‘ why did you tell Cameron what I said to you?’ ‘ I thought,’ said Lincoln, ‘ that it was a good joke, and I didn’t think it would make him mad.’ ‘ Well,’ replied Stevens, ‘ he is very mad and made me promise to retract. I will now do so. I believe I told you that I didn’t think he would steal a red-hot stove. I now take that back.’ ”

Stevens was the active representative in Congress of the legal tender policy, but it is most interesting in reading the history of that great departure in our national finance to see how fully even its advocates recognized its inherent unsoundness. Stevens himself called the first greenback law, introduced by himself, a “measure of necessity, not of choice.” The attitude towards it was as far as possible from that of the fiat money enthusiasts who later on came to regard the greenbacks as having established the doctrine that government can make money and confer value upon it simply by its arbitrary dictum. The fathers of the greenback policy labored under no such delusion, although they felt that even this dubious experiment was better than any other device possible in the appal-

ling crisis that faced them. Stevens "would not willingly issue a legal-tender paper currency, or 'depart from that circulating medium which, by the common consent of civilized nations, forms the standard of value.'"

Nevertheless, circumstances made radical action of some sort absolutely imperative. The government's first loan of \$150,000,000 had been exhausted, no more could be obtained, specie payments had been suspended, the treasury was empty, and the current expenses amounted to \$2,000,000 a day. As Mr. McCall says (p. 170): "It is an easy thing thirty-five years afterwards to say that the government made a mistake; but a great deal must be taken for granted, and it certainly is not easy to point out the superiority of the other plans, suggested for the difficulty, over that which was actually adopted."

But he adds this pointed and true comment on the attitude that has since been taken towards the greenback: "Vastly the greater cost of the greenback has followed the war. They should have disappeared with the pressing necessity which called them into being. But it is not the fault of those who believed in them for a great emergency that they have been permitted to remain to cost the people, in one way or another, probably almost as great a sum as the entire money cost of suppressing the rebellion."

Altogether, Mr. McCall's biography of Stevens is an important contribution to the American Statesmen Series, of which it forms the thirty-first volume.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC

Imperial Democracy. By David Starr Jordan, Ph. D. Cloth, 12mo, 293 pages. \$1.50. D. Appleton & Company, New York. This volume is an important

contribution to the discussion of expansion and imperialism. It consists of eight lectures or addresses, delivered at various dates since May 25th, 1898, presenting President Jordan's views in opposition to an imperialist policy for the United States.

The Right to the Whole Produce of Labor. By Dr. Anton Menger, Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Vienna. Translated by M. E. Tanner. Crown 8vo, cloth, 271 pp. \$2.00. The Macmillan Company, London and New York. This is the first English translation of a work well known on the Continent. It is entirely devoted to analysis and refutation of one proposition,—the socialist claim of labor's right to the whole product of industry.

DESCRIPTIVE AND HISTORICAL

Alaska and the Klondike. By Angelo Heilprin, F.R.G.S., F.G.S.A. Cloth, 12mo, 315 pages. \$1.75. D. Appleton and Company, New York. The author of this book is Professor of Geology at the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia, and was the leader of the Peary Relief Expedition of 1892. In that capacity he traversed Alaska and made extensive observations on the character of the country. In the present volume he gives the physical history and geology of the gold regions, methods of mining, and hints to travelers. The book is liberally illustrated and supplied with several colored maps.

Throne-Makers. By William Roscoe Thayer. Cloth, 12mo, gilt tops, 329 pp. \$1.50. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York. Four essays, on Bismarck, Napoleon III, Kossuth and Garibaldi respectively, with additional papers on Carlyle, Tintoret, Giordano Bruno, and Bryant, are comprised in this volume. Mr. Thayer is the author of "The Dawn of Italian Independence."

POETICAL

Complete Poetical Works of John Milton. Cambridge Edition. Large crown 8vo, gilt tops, \$2.00; half calf, \$3.50; tree calf or full levant, \$5.50. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York. This edition of Milton is uniform with the well-known Cambridge editions of Longfellow, Whittier, Tennyson, and other poets. It contains biographical sketch, introductions, notes by William Vaughn Moody, translations of Milton's Latin poems, portrait, etc.

The Man With the Hoe, and Other Poems. By Edwin Markham. Cloth, 140 pp. \$1.00. Doubleday & McClure Company, New York. Mr. Markham's rise to fame has been sudden, and rests chiefly upon the remarkable poem based on Millet's famous painting. Much of the other work in the volume, however, is of high merit.

BIOGRAPHICAL

Life and Public Services of Edwin M. Stanton. By George C. Gorham. With portraits, maps, etc. Cloth, gilt tops; 2 vols. 456 + 502 pp. \$3.00. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, New York and Chicago. Mr. Gorham was an intimate friend of Lincoln's Secretary of War, and writes an appreciative and interesting biography. Dealing principally with Stanton's great services in the Cabinet, it is (like the Hay-Nicolay Life of Lincoln in that respect) a distinct side-light on the history of the civil war.

PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY

Psychology and Life. By Hugo Munsterberg, Professor of Psychology in Harvard University. Cloth, crown 8vo, gilt tops, 286 pp. \$2.00. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York. A very serious and careful treatment of psychological problems, especially with reference to certain tendencies in modern life. It treats specifically of psychology in its relation to life, physiology, education, art, history and mysticism.

The Races of Europe. By William Z. Ripley, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of Sociology in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Cloth, crown 8vo, 650 pp. With 85 maps and 235 portrait types. \$6.00. D. Appleton & Company, New York. A study of European races from the sociological and anthropological standpoint. It is an exhaustive and masterly work, the outgrowth of a series of Lowell Institute lectures delivered in 1896. There is a small supplementary volume of 160 pages, giving a selected bibliography of the anthropology and ethnology of Europe.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

FUNK & WAGNALLS COMPANY, New York and London.

The Standard Intermediate-School Dictionary of the English Language. Arranged from the Funk & Wagnalls Standard Dictionary, by James C. Fernald. Cloth, 8vo, 533 + viii. pp. \$1.00. Illustrated. Contains about 38,000 words.

AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

Kenilworth. By Sir Walter Scott, Bart. Abridged and edited (for school use) by Mary H. Norris, Assistant Professor of English Literature, Northwestern University. Cloth, 12mo, 335 pp. 50 cents.

The Story of the Great Republic. By H. A. Guerber. Cloth, 12mo, 332 pp., illustrated. 65 cents. (A history of the United States from the framing of the Constitution to the present.)

Graded Work in Arithmetic. By S. W. Baird, Principal Franklin Grammar School, Wilkesbarre, Pa. Fifth Book, Grammar Grades. Cloth, 12mo, 356 pp. 65 cents. Final book in series of graded arithmetics. Contains chapter on elementary algebra.

THE BEST IN CURRENT MAGAZINES

In the *Century* is an article by Major-General Leonard Wood on: "The Present Situation in Cuba," and another on "The Cuban as a Labor Problem," by William Willard Howard, who has been conspicuous as an organizer of the Cuban Industrial Relief Fund.

Among numerous short stories in *Harper's* are: "The Tree of Knowledge," by Mary E. Wilkins; "The Angel Child," by Stephen Crane, and "The Sorrows of Don Tomas Pidal, Reconcentrado," by Frederic Remington.

Cassier's Magazine for August is an "Electric Railway Number," including, among many other contributions, articles on "The Latest Developments in Electric Conduit Railways," by F. S. Pierson, chief engineer of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company of New York, and "Municipal Ownership of Tramways in Great Britain," by Benjamin Taylor.

W. T. Stead contributes an illustrated article on "The Cape to Cairo Railway" to *McClure's*. Miss Tarbell's Lincoln paper this month is on "The Death of Abraham Lincoln," including his last life portrait.

"Education in the Southern States," by J. L. M. Curry, "The Alaskan Boundary Dispute from an American Point of View," by William H. Lewis, and an illustrated article on "The 'America's' Cup Race in 1899," are prominent features of the *Review of Reviews*.

Among the contributors to the *Atlantic Monthly* we note many conspicuous names;—Thomas Wentworth Higginson, F. Hopkinson Smith, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Jacob A. Riis and John Burroughs.

Scribner's for August is designated "The Fiction Number," and includes contributions from Richard Harding Davis, Dr. Henry Van Dyke and Thomas Nelson Page.



FERNAND LABORI

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GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

ECONOMICS AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

THE SECRET OF CROKER'S INFLUENCE

The comings and goings of the presiding genius of the Tammany organization are matters of national note. Personally nobody would regard his opinion on public affairs as having any significance, yet when he speaks the nation listens and New York trembles. A few weeks ago he went to England to participate in the racing season. When he left he was an expansionist, and opposed to the nomination of Bryan. On his return he has simply thrown away his previous views and announces himself an anti-expansionist and a believer in Bryan. This has been a topic of serious discussion in the press, as if it were a matter of national concern. If Mr. Croker were endowed with special insight into the nature and tendency of national events, and exceptional wisdom in statecraft, his opinions and utterances could scarcely be more eagerly grasped for and anxiously discussed. The *New York Times*, which with the exception of its hallucination on free trade, is one of the clean, serious, able and truly public-spirited journals, deeply bemoans this fact of Croker's public significance. In one of its moments of irrepressible grief, it exclaims:

"It is shameful, it is humiliating, that the people of this city, of this state, and of this nation must take account of the opinions of a man whose convictions hang upon him as loosely as an old coat and are as easily put off when it suits his interest or his whim to garb himself in other colors. But however much we may detest his views or question his competence to have and express views on grave public questions, we must admit that this man has great power, very great power. He is the chief and leader, the autocrat, of an organization

that controls the votes of something like two hundred thousand American citizens. . . .

"Croker goes to England with his pockets full of the dirty money which has come to him through his power of control over the government of this city, a power which he has publicly confessed that he exercises. He holds one set of opinions when he goes away. He races horses for six weeks. He comes back and his opinions have completely changed. . . .

"It is a hideous travesty on republican institutions and government by the people that the common mind, ignorant and destitute of principle, should be a more powerful factor in public affairs and in guiding the people than the able, the instructed, and the qualified students of the acts and policies of the Republic."

This is a shameful picture, solemnly and mournfully drawn, and what is more, it has not the slightest element of imagination. The truth is that imagination pales before the facts in Croker's case. It is indeed well calculated to make the heart of every patriotic American citizen sad. That this coarse low creature is the literal czar of the metropolis is a stinging fact which everybody at all informed well knows.

Recognizing this fact the important question that necessarily suggests itself is: How comes it that this man, whom nobody respects and half of the community loathes, has such immense power? Is it because New York is such a wicked city, because its inhabitants are especially stupid and depraved, indifferent alike to decency and integrity in public affairs? No, it is not that. New York is not a specially bad nor a specially stupid city. For intelligence, integrity, decency, and all that goes to make up civilization, New York is the peer of any other city in the world. Croker's position and influence are not due in any way to the inferiority of the people of New York.

Then, it may be asked, is Croker endowed with some subtle satanic power, that he exercises such exceptional influence? Has he some inexplicable psychic power that gives him such an enormous advantage? No. In fact he is not even popular. This great influ-

ence is not due to any personal qualities of Croker at all. It is due to the fact that he is the chief of Tammany Hall. The established recognized leader of Tammany Hall always has this power. John Kelly had it. Boss Tweed had it. They all have it. All that appears to be necessary to secure this immense power over the people of New York is to be the established leader of the Tammany organization and be true to the Tammany methods of conducting and administrating affairs.

But this only leads us to another query. Why does Tammany Hall have such a deadening as well as deadly influence over the citizens and policy of the greatest city of the republic? The secret of this power really lies in the attitude the Tammany organization assumes toward the common people, especially the great mass of the poor. It has behind it the extraordinary power of the Catholic Church, which in this city is the church of the poor, especially of the very poor. Tammany always manages to ally itself with the popular interests of the poor. Not that it is ever the specific and efficient friend of any industrial reform, or any measures that tend to improve the condition of the poor; but professedly, always on the housetop, it mouths for the workingman. It makes great political capital out of the fact that it is the poor man's party and that the other party is the rich man's party, the party of capital, of monopoly and of labor's oppressors.

Of course, this is largely demagogy. It is what the political practitioner calls good politics. Moreover, Tammany does not do this intermittently by fits and starts. It does it all the time, during elections and between elections. Its intellectual status and moral quality are such that it is easier for it to play the humbug and deal out buncombe than to be serious, honest and truly public-spirited. Although to intelligent observers this political depravity is obvious, it exercises

it so widely and continuously that at least a portion of its pretensions are taken seriously by the great mass of poor people.

But even this could not succeed in securing Tammany perpetual power if it were not assisted by powerful auxiliaries, the strongest of which is the utter lack of a political party of anything like similar organization and efficiency that represents its political antithesis. There is nothing wanting in the denunciation of Tammany, in the exposure of its methods, its political corruption and debauchery. Its infamies are proclaimed on the housetops from one end of the country to the other. But it has no real competitor as an organized political power that is equally persistent in its constant friendliness to the common people. It is undoubtedly true that in New York City all the best people, the most high-minded, clean and characterful citizens, are opposed to Tammany. A great majority of them even belong to the republican party. But, as a party, the republican organization has never shown itself deeply interested in and closely identified with the great social problems in which the laboring masses are so vitally interested. They damn Tammany up hill and down dale, but so far as they have much efficient organization they do very much as Tammany does, and so far as they are a nigh-minded political party they mostly ignore the interests of the millions altogether.

On the great questions of national policy, like protection and finance, the republican party is definitely the party of the people, the party of public welfare, of business stability and prosperity, and where those questions are the issue it gets the support of the masses whenever it is frank and aggressive. But on the great body of comparatively new questions of an economic or social character, the republican party is a good deal of a political sphinx. It is a historic fact that the masses

will prefer the leadership of a reckless experimenter or daring demagogue, openly and boldly pronounced on either side, to a silent even though safe political sphinx. The masses distrust the lover of the fence as completely as nature abhors a vacuum.

Now, the republican party in New York State, particularly in New York City, has contented itself with the negative virtue of damning the other side. It has relied on its proclamation: "We are against Tammany," as a sufficient credential to popular support. A negative policy never creates warm friends. It is by doing and doing and doing that leaders and parties create warm friends and zealous followers. An expression of friendliness is not enough. To do the useful, popular thing once or twice is not enough. It is doing or trying to do that finally creates the reputation that gives faith and followers. Take, for instance, the tariff. The republican party has earned its reputation on that subject. Everybody can trust it, and when that policy is needed they support it. It is because on that subject it has been bold and specific, aggressive and constant. The old men, the middle-aged and the young voters all know that it is the party of protection, and that under all circumstances it can be trusted to do the best the circumstances permit. If its reputation was as pronounced on the questions affecting the social and industrial condition of the laborers as it is on the tariff, then, with its superior intellectual and moral qualities, it would be a virile antithesis to Tammany before which Crokerism would soon become an impotent and relatively harmless influence in New York politics.

The attitude of the republican party in its normal and continuous course of action has been practically to ignore the economic and social questions in which the laboring class is specifically and immediately interested. To be sure, at brief periods preceding important elec-

tions some signs of interest in the labor question are manifest, but in the year-in-and-year-out conduct of the party those questions are silently ignored or openly combated. The result, and in fact the only result, that could be expected from such a general course is that the laborers, particularly the poor, have no faith in the friendship of the republican party. The fact is that they have come to regard it as the party of the rich, the party of the capitalists and employers, and hence not the party of the laborers.

The policy of the present governor of New York has been a marked and even striking departure from this traditional policy. His inaugural address contained a comprehensive, emphatic, specific, and altogether significant passage on the interests and legislative necessities of the laboring class. During the session of the legislature Governor Roosevelt took a personal and active interest in promoting some pronounced and wholesome labor legislation. But one swallow does not make a summer. He is the first republican governor that ever did it. It was a radical departure from the conduct of republican, and for that matter democratic, governors of this state. Yet he did nothing that was not wholesome and commendable, that will not stand the test of experience; nothing that did not reflect legislative wisdom and level-headed statesmanship.

If the republican party or the anti-Tammany party, as a party, would constantly take pronounced, advanced, rational ground on this group of questions that are rapidly crowding to the front for public consideration, it would receive the support of the class of people in whose interest this policy was adopted and who would receive the benefits accruing from it. No amount of blatant demagogery of the cheap Tammany sort could prevent such a party having the popular support which would transfer the government of New York City from

the hands of those who disgrace it to the real representatives of municipal and educational progress and political decency and integrity. We may bemoan the power of Croker, we may blush for his impudence and chafe under his majorities, but we can do nothing to wrest his power from him by merely scolding at what he does and denouncing him for doing it. The only thing that can dethrone Tammany and rid the public of the power and save the nation the disgrace of Croker and Crokerism is for the anti-Tammany party to be a positive, constructive, helpful party to the masses of the people, to the poor people, to those whom Tammany degrades by its bribes and humbugs by its flattery and swindles by its corruption. Let the anti-Tammany party or republican party be as constructive and aggressive in its advocacy of measures directly affecting the conditions of the great mass of laborers in New York City as it is in denouncing and exposing Tammany, and its success would soon be assured. The people support Tammany not because they love the vices of Tammany, not because they love the demagogery and hypocrisy and debauchery of Tammany methods, but because to them Tammany appears to be their only ever-present and constant friend.

CRUSADE AGAINST PROSPERITY

The United States in many respects is unique, but in nothing is it so strikingly different from all other countries as in the political attitude of the people towards business. It is a common occurrence in representative governments for the existing ministry to be defeated through the influence of hard times. Disraeli once said that no English ministry could withstand three bad harvests. But a very poor ministry can keep power with good times. This tendency to make political confidence depend chiefly on business prosperity prevails in every country except the United States.

By some peculiarity of temperament or psychological influence the people of the United States seem to delight in using their political power against business development and prosperity. Several times in the midst of prosperity a political movement has arisen demanding a radical change in the fiscal or tariff policy, resulting in the destruction of business confidence, paralysis of industry, and sometimes a financial panic,—witness 1892-93. As the result of that we had six years of business depression and social hardship. Now, under a return to the former policy, business confidence and prosperity have returned, and we are getting ready to destroy it again. In 1892 the means of attacking business prosperity was the overthrow of the tariff, now it is the overthrow of corporations. The war cry is being raised from one end of the land to the other, "Down with trusts."

This is not merely the work of a few crank reformers and irresponsible agitators but it is being made the issue of a systematized political campaign, supported by numerous independent movements. Indeed, it almost seems as if the American people would soon be as mad on the trust question as the French people are on the Dreyfus question.

If this movement against trusts is to take on a practical form, in common justice to the people the object should be frankly presented. Suppose the forthcoming conference of governors is a success and all the states act together, what is to be accomplished? Of course the talk is that this great national uprising is to abolish trusts. But suppose there are no trusts. What then? The army has been organized, the guns are loaded, and somebody must be killed to justify the effort. If there are no trusts, then of course an attack must be made upon corporations.

Now that is exactly the state of the case. There is not a trust in the United States. There never were more than about half a dozen, and they have all been dissolved and converted into large corporations. In reality, then, the war on trusts is a war on corporations pure and simple. Large corporations may be a very bad thing for the community, and if so they ought to be abolished, but an agitation for their abolition should be conducted on honest principles. It should be definitely understood that it is a crusade against large corporations. To call it a crusade against trusts is to practice a fraud upon the people. At least let us have the people who are to vote these business concerns out of existence know what they are voting against. Certainly before the people of this country can be expected to support such a crusade they have a right to know something about what it will accomplish.

First, then, are all corporations to be suppressed? If so the proposition is very simple. Of course this can be done if the people want it, but it would stop every railroad, trolley, cable and horse-car system in the country, and would close more than ninety per cent. of the manufacturing and business concerns. In fact, nearly all businesses larger than the peanut stand would have to be dissolved and re-distributed into small efforts,

about the equivalent of what existed in the walled towns in the thirteenth century. It would, in fact, wipe out about all the economic effectiveness the last five centuries of industrial evolution have produced. For reduction to economic simplicity and thorough abolition of monopoly this would leave little to be desired. It would accomplish the object completely, but it would reduce us to barbarism. Of course nobody wants that.

Yet that is the simple case if the war is against all corporations. If it is not against all corporations, then against which is the war to be directed? If we are not to suppress all, there must be some specific line of distinction between those "to be damned" and those "to be saved." There must be some way of distinguishing the sheep from the goats. What shall it be? It cannot be anything relating to the economic or political principle of the organization, because in these respects they are all alike. Nor is it in the character of the industry, because the corporation principle applies to all industries. There is only one difference between them and that is the size of their capital. Well, then, where shall the line be drawn? Shall it be at one hundred thousand, at half a million, a million, five millions, ten millions, fifty millions or a hundred millions? Where? If the line is to be drawn anywhere, some economic or political reason must be given for drawing it there. Upon what economic principle or experience can a distinction be made? Some of the economists who are to address the Chicago conference or governors who are to enlighten the St. Louis conference are in honor bound to give this information to the people, or else abandon their movement. If there is any reason, economic, moral or political, why a corporation of half a million capital is a good thing and one with a million or five millions capital is bad, then a benighted world is waiting for the information. Thus far not a ray of light

has ever been shed upon that point, though acres of literature on the subject have been published.

How came these corporations to get so large? Why did they organize at all? There is one general reason and it is this: in the effort to make the most of invested capital, it was found by a long series of experiments that under certain conditions large capital could be used to greater advantage than small capital; it could produce more at the same cost, give a larger profit, sell the products at lower prices, and give more permanent employment to labor at higher wages. Every little addition to the size of industrial concerns has been made for these reasons. As the experiments proved a success they were increased, and so from small individual concerns to partnerships and corporations the process went on and on, and if not arbitrarily interrupted will continue to go on just so long as it will yield these advantages. Just so long as adding another million to the plant will increase the earning capacity of both the old and new capital, the additions will continue to be made, and as soon as the point is reached where to increase the size only increases the unwieldiness and does not increase the economy it will stop.

Clearly, then, the history of industrial growth and prosperity is the history of corporate development. Without corporations productive efficiency could not have progressed beyond the economic status of the small individual concerns of at least a century ago. A war on corporations without some definite economic basis of discrimination, then, is simply a war on business success. That is the character of the present movement. It is based upon no principle of industrial management or public policy. It recognizes no line of distinction between the good and the bad, but it is a blind, muddled, indiscriminate agitation against corporate capital, which means a crusade against business prosperity.

What would be accomplished if this crusade against corporations should succeed? A few instances serve to illustrate what might be expected. Take, for instance, the Standard Oil Company, which is constantly cited as a conspicuous object of attack. The petroleum industry began in 1859. From then until about 1871 illuminating oil was produced by a large number of small concerns. The oil was very poor and dangerous to use. From 1863 inclusive, when oil production was becoming an established business and full statistics are available, until 1871, the gold price fell from $30\frac{7}{10}$ cents to $21\frac{7}{10}$ cents per gallon, or 29 $\frac{8}{10}$ per cent. From 1871 to 1880, under the Standard Oil Company, the price fell from $21\frac{7}{10}$ to 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ cents, or 58 per cent., and under the trust it has fallen from 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ to $5\frac{7}{10}$ cents, or 37 $\frac{8}{10}$ per cent. The average yearly prices in gold for the whole period from 1861 to 1898 are as follows:

Year	Average Yearly Price (Cents)	Year	Average Yearly Price (Cents)
1863.....	$30\frac{7}{10}$	1881.....	8
1864.....	$31\frac{1}{2}$	1882.....	$7\frac{3}{8}$
1865.....	$37\frac{3}{10}$	1883.....	$8\frac{1}{8}$
1866.....	$30\frac{1}{10}$	1884.....	$8\frac{1}{4}$
1867.....	$20\frac{1}{2}$	1885.....	$8\frac{1}{8}$
1868.....	$20\frac{1}{8}$	1886.....	$7\frac{1}{8}$
1869.....	$24\frac{3}{5}$	1887.....	$6\frac{3}{4}$
1870.....	$22\frac{9}{10}$	1888.....	$7\frac{1}{2}$
1871.....	$21\frac{7}{10}$	1889.....	$7\frac{1}{8}$
1872.....	21	1890.....	$7\frac{3}{8}$
1873.....	16	1891.....	$6\frac{1}{16}$
1874.....	$11\frac{7}{10}$	1892.....	$6\frac{1}{16}$
1875.....	$11\frac{3}{10}$	1893.....	$5\frac{1}{4}$
1876.....	$17\frac{1}{10}$	1894.....	$5\frac{1}{8}$
1877.....	15	1895.....	$7\frac{1}{4}$
1878.....	$10\frac{1}{2}$	1896.....	7
1879.....	$8\frac{1}{8}$	1897.....	$5\frac{9}{16}$
1880.....	$9\frac{1}{8}$	1898.....	$5\frac{7}{16}$

This immense reduction of the price, besides improvement of the quality, has been accomplished by no

aid of legislation, but by the economic use of capital and unlimited scientific experiment in the process of refining and handling the oil. This would have been impossible by any small capital. The pipe line itself could not have been built by individual effort or anything short of a colossal organization. By the increase of capital and development of new devices this concern has developed an enormous industry; from a product in 1859 of 8,500 barrels to 35,165,990 barrels in 1897.

In the early seventies petroleum was discovered in Russia, and when the Standard Oil Company made its great improvements in the methods and processes of refining and completed its pipe-line transportation, at an outlay of millions of dollars in experimentation and construction, European capital organized an immense syndicate and adopted all the improved methods of the Standard Oil Company in developing the oil industry in Russia. They have increased the Russian production from 100,000 barrels in 1870 to 50,697,000 barrels in 1897, which is 15,531,010 barrels more than the total American output. Thus, with the best American methods, developed at the cost of the experiments of American capital, and paying less than one-fourth American wages, and with the most fertile oil lands in the world, Russia has become an immense rival in the petroleum industry. The Russian government protects the Russian market by a 200 per cent. duty, so that the Russian oil company has a monopoly of the Russian market. It has cheap labor and American productive methods to compete against the Standard Oil Company in the rest of the world.

On the other hand, the Standard Oil Company has no protection in the American market. Petroleum is on the free list. Nothing but the economy, large capital and highly developed management of the Standard Oil Company prevents Russian oil producers from sup-

plying the American market. By the use of immense capital and efficient management the American producers, besides supplying the American market, in 1897 exported to the different countries of Europe, Asia and elsewhere, outside of Russia, 994,297,757 gallons of refined oil, which, at the low prevailing price, was equivalent to bringing \$59,057,574 in gold into the country. The exports for the last ten years have been as follows:

Year	Gallons	Dollars	Year	Gallons	Dollars
1888.....	572,457,975	48,105,703	1893.....	871,757,017	41,117,814
1889.....	680,705,456	53,293,299	1894.....	894,162,155	40,483,088
1890.....	693,829,848	52,270,953	1895.....	853,126,130	56,223,425
1891.....	673,905,577	46,174,835	1896.....	931,785,022	62,764,278
1892.....	744,638,463	42,729,157	1897.....	994,297,757	59,057,547

Here, then, is a concern which, without any government protection but solely by the power of its large capital, is giving employment to 35,000 American laborers, paying \$100,000 a day in wages, and bringing nearly \$60,000,000 of gold into the country every year. What would happen if this concern were forced to disband? Who would be benefited? In all probability the whole petroleum business, now done by the Standard Oil and independent concerns, would be transferred to Russia, which would mean enforced idleness for about 45,000 American laborers, with the loss of nearly \$125,000 a day in wages, besides a loss of \$60,000,000 in gold. If all the oil in this country were produced by small concerns they could not compete a month against Russian producers, who have the advantage of all the modern methods developed in this country, immense capital, and the lowest paid labor in Europe. Under such conditions nothing could protect the American market to American producers except a tariff high enough to force up the price several cents a gallon, and even that could not secure us the \$60,000,000 of gold a year from the present foreign sales. Any movement which would lead to such a result is the essence of economic madness.

Take the railroads as another instance. Next to the Standard Oil Company probably the railroads are the most conspicuous objects of attack by this new crusade. If the recommendations of Mr. Cleveland in his last message, and the program of the coming conference of governors in St. Louis, are to be consummated, then the great railroad corporations must be broken up, or confiscated by the government, which is what the socialist part of the movement most desires and really hopes for.

In 1873, with the relatively small and unintegrated railroad corporations, it cost 2.21 cents a mile to ship a ton of merchandise. By the steady enlargement of systems and economizing of costs, without lowering but in many instances raising wages, the freight charge has been gradually lowered from 2.21 cents a mile in 1873 to about seventy-five hundredths of a cent a mile in 1897, a fall of about 64 per cent., as will be seen by the following table:—

Years	Miles of Railroad	Average rate per ton per mile	Years	Miles of Railroad	Average rate per ton per mile
		(cents)			(cents)
1873.....	70,268	2.210	1886.....	136,379	1.042
1874.....	72,385	2.040	1887.....	149,257	1.034
1875.....	74,096	1.810	1888.....	156,169	0.977
1876.....	76,868	1.855	1889.....	161,353	0.970
1877.....	79,088	1.524	1890.....	166,698	0.927
1878.....	81,767	1.401	1891.....	170,769	0.929
1879.....	86,584	1.201	1892.....	175,188	0.941
1880.....	93,296	1.348	1893.....	177,465	0.893
1881.....	103,143	1.264	1894.....	179,393	0.864
1882.....	114,712	1.236	1895.....	181,021	0.839
1883.....	121,455	1.224	1896.....	182,777	0.806
1884.....	125,379	1.125	1897.....	184,428	0.798
1885.....	128,361	1.036	1898.....	186,396	0.753

It will be seen that during the last twenty-four years, in which the railroads have developed into larger and larger corporations, the cost of service to the

public has been lessened more than one half, to say nothing of the immensely improved passenger service facilities and smoother roadbeds.

The simple English of these facts is that to resolve the railroad corporations back, even into the original small concerns which were corporations, would probably be to more than double the cost of railroad service to the people. Who would be benefited by such a performance? It would be a setback of a quarter of a century, with an injury to everybody and benefit to nobody. Are the American people ready for any such retrogressive folly?

Next to the steam railroad corporations, those most railed against are the surface railroad system syndicates, especially those which control the surface railroad systems in our large cities. Take New York as an example. All the surface railroading in New York City is in the hands of two companies. It was once in the hands of a dozen or more companies. Every avenue line and every crosstown line was run by a separate company. Under that regime the motive power was horses, and the public had to pay a separate five cent fare for every car boarded. With the discovery of new motive power, trolleys, cable and lastly underground-conduit trolleys, larger capital was needed to get the best effects from the new methods, and to-day the citizens of New York (and by the same process of nearly all the cities in the country) can ride in cars many times as commodious and wholesome, twice as fast, ten times as far, and be transferred to numerous other lines, all for one fare. Under this system of concentrated capital and management citizens of New York can now board a trolley on the New York side of Brooklyn Bridge, cross the bridge and ride some dozen miles to Coney Island, for five cents, which previously by any other route cost 40 and 50 cents. By an agreement

between the Third Avenue Company and elevated road system, which is practically another large integration, the people can travel from the Battery to New Rochelle, a distance of twenty-five miles or more, for eight cents,—a five cent fare and a three cent transfer,—which by the other methods previously cost more than 40 cents.

The next natural step, one that will come if not arbitrarily interfered with, will be to put the entire local transit system of the metropolis, both surface and elevated, under one management. Then every road in every direction will be open to the public for a single fare, transfers being accepted from any to any cars in the entire city. What will the new crusade do with this? If its policy is carried out the great meatpacking establishments of Chicago, the steel manufacturing corporations of Pittsburg, will have to be disbanded and industry relegated back to the primitive methods existing in the ante-corporation period. This would practically mean an increase of from 50 to 100 per cent. in the price of nearly all machine made products.

Of course it will be said that this is not what is intended, but what has already been done justifies the belief that the madness will, if it can, go to the full length. Take for example the state of Ohio. It has practically legislated the Standard Oil Company out of the state. Through a system of legal persecution, doing business in Ohio has been made intolerable and the works which employed thousands of men and distributed hundreds of thousands of dollars a year in Cleveland and other cities in that state are being closed and removed. It will not take much of this to bring the people of Ohio to a realizing sense of the economic madness of this policy.

In Michigan also the work goes bravely on, but in

even greater degree. A law was passed recently, under Governor Pingree's influence, making it a misdemeanor to make a contract affecting the price of any commodity for future delivery. The law says:

"It shall hereafter be unlawful for two or more persons to make or enter into or execute or carry out any contracts or obligations or agreements by which they shall bind themselves to sell any commodity between them so as to directly or indirectly preclude a free and unrestricted competition among themselves."

The penalty for violating this law is a fine of from \$50.00 to \$5,000.00, or imprisonment for a term of six months to one year, or both. Now, if a person cannot enter into or carry out any contract or agreement binding himself to sell a commodity at a special price for any time in the future, then there is no freedom of contract whatever. Not a single large industry could be conducted successfully under such a law. It would be the entire suppression of modern methods of business.

The legislators of Texas and Kentucky and other states are vying with each other as to which can pass the most effective business-killing legislation. The more this anti-trust movement is considered in the light of its own declarations and accomplishments, in the light of logic, common sense and economic sanity, the clearer it becomes that it is a fanatical, misguided crusade against business prosperity, public welfare and national progress.

WOMEN'S CLUBS AND SOCIAL REFORMS

The rapid growth in numbers and importance of women's clubs is a hopeful sign. It is the more gratifying because of what it promises and the suggestive lines of progress that it opens up. These clubs are devoted both to study purposes and to practical work in behalf of civic, social and educational reforms. They cover a surprisingly large field, larger in fact than the general public has any idea of, for obvious reasons.

Just why these clubs and their work have not occupied as prominent a place in public attention as their importance now demands that they should is due more to their newness than to lack of public appreciation. The United States Department of Labor has made us acquainted with the extent and work of women's clubs, by means of a recent investigation. The results of this investigation have been summarized in an interesting manner in the July *Bulletin* of the department, by Mrs. Ellen M. Henrotin,—a familiar name in connection with this movement.

At first most of these clubs existed chiefly for literary, social and study purposes. Very soon the disposition arose to add various lines of practical work. This was especially the case with reference to local problems. Here and there women's clubs began to take an interest in village or municipal affairs, particularly education and certain lines of philanthropy. In the larger centers departments of club work were established, and committees appointed to investigate social and educational conditions in the immediate community and suggest practical efforts for improving matters, either through influencing public opinion or actually promoting and carrying through definite reforms.

Mrs. Henrotin thus describes this broadening out tendency: "The larger clubs plunged at once into

many forms of public activity, and became a power for good in their respective communities, instituting some reforms, endorsing others, and by direct and indirect influence championing better methods. They administered charities, carried on civic work in their neighborhood, increased the efficiency of the schools, secured better factory laws for workers, and helped to advance women to the positions of factory inspector, police matron and school trustee. The clubs were also identified with many large movements, such as tenement-house reform, public parks and playgrounds, sanitation and cleanliness, and abolition of the sweating system."

These clubs are but another illustration of the law that organization is the keynote of success. Certainly this holds good of industrial matters. Why not also of the efforts of earnest, intelligent people for the social, moral and educational improvement of the community? In many particular lines of work in this broad field women's clubs are much more effective and successful instruments than men's organizations for the same purpose could possibly be. The practical results achieved by women's clubs prove that despite mistakes, errors of judgment, and perhaps over-officiousness in certain directions, they are highly effective and far from being mere fads or fussy associations of busy-bodies.

Local organization of individual clubs was quickly followed by associations of the clubs themselves, at first on state lines, finally on national. There are thirty state federations belonging to a general national federation, besides a large number of independent clubs not so affiliated. These thirty state federations in 1898 included 2,110 clubs with 132,023 members.

The questions sent out by the Labor Department were answered by 1,283 of these clubs. The most interesting feature of these replies is that relating to the

work done in social economics. It appears that 431 clubs are carrying on study in various departments of sociology, political economy and philanthropy. Practical work in these departments is being carried on by 425 clubs; although, somewhat curiously, many of the clubs carrying on practical work are not engaged in specific study, and *vice versa* a good many of those who are taking up studies have not as yet undertaken to apply their knowledge. In 75 clubs practical work along these lines is the principal object of the organization; in the rest, while not the leading, it is one of the important auxiliary features.

The relation of these clubs to working women is significant and interesting. It could be wished that it were more general and close than it is. Working women are included in the membership of 350 of the clubs that reported on the subject. Perhaps local conditions make definite co-operation impracticable in many instances, and in a much larger number of cases it is likely that no classification of working women as a distinct group was or could be made, without involving absurdity. Nevertheless, the possibilities along this line are more suggestive than many of the club workers themselves probably realize. In a sense, organizations of this sort, which either include a number of working women in their membership or are closely affiliated with separate organizations of working women, may serve in their behalf and by peaceful methods many of the purposes that trade unions accomplish for men.

A number of the clubs included in this report, in fact, are composed entirely of women engaged in business and professional pursuits. Then there are a large number of working girl's societies, "founded on the three-fold principles of self-government, self-support and co-operation." These provide instruction in industrial and business affairs and household economics, besides

furnishing social, literary and mutual benefit features. In Southern California there is a Woman's Parliament of 1500 members, of whom working women form an important element. This is an association chiefly for discussion and debate. There are a number of other smaller organizations of the same sort along the Pacific Coast.

Too much stress cannot be laid on the important possibilities of these women's "trade unions"—to adopt some latitude of description. Differing however widely in methods from men's unions, they might still accomplish much in improving the wages and working condition of their members. The problem of organization for this purpose is considerably more difficult in the case of women than of men, because of the many complicating elements that enter in. The chief difficulty is that most working women and girls live in homes supported chiefly or in part from other sources, for instance the earnings of the male members of the family. Under present conditions this insures a relatively low and uncertain wage status for women, and makes organization difficult. Probably the final solution of this will lie in the gradual increase of earnings of heads of families to the point where the industrial or commercial employment of other members of the family will not be necessary. Nevertheless, there will always be an important group of independent women engaged in business and professional pursuits, and it is to these that the organization idea offers genuine opportunities.

It does not appear that many women's clubs, whether including working women as members or not, have as yet ventured far into the field of dealing with or bringing pressure to bear upon employers with respect to wages and conditions of work. Naturally the subject is fraught with many and peculiar difficulties. Yet, if gone about in the right way, it is as important

a field of work as any that these associations could undertake. The main thing is, first, that the clubs awaken to the importance of the trade union idea among working women, and then devote careful attention and study to ways and means of putting it into practical effect. Who can doubt that, once undertaken, solid and substantial results can be evolved?

The aggravated social conditions lying back of the pitiful wages of cash girls, and the starvation rates paid to seamstresses, represented in the cut prices of bargain counters, have their root finally in the social standards of the workers themselves and their power or lack of power to influence the market for their services. Cash girls will be ultimately supplanted by mechanical systems of change-making. Sewing and tailoring will be done under regular factory conditions, instead of in homes and sweatshops, and when that comes the greatest instrument for bettering the condition of the workers will lie in organization. Until that time women workers will need to rely chiefly on organizations of other women who shall exercise the power of social pressure and public opinion in their behalf.

"The replies to the inquiries of the Commissioner of Labor," says Mrs. Henrotin, "disclose two specially interesting facts," the second of which is "the growing interest felt everywhere in social economic questions. The club members seem to have become convinced that the science of economics is at the bottom of nearly all their problems. Resolving to acquaint themselves with existing economic conditions, the women formed study classes and invited experts and practical workers in the realms of philanthropy, charity, education, and statistical science to present the newest views and results. By the interest thus aroused among large and influential memberships much has been done to raise civic standards, to remedy abuses, to improve sanitary

conditions, and relieve the hardships of industrial pursuits as now carried on by women and children. Since the investigation of the Department of Labor was made, clubs once purely literary in scope have branched into the study of educational and civic conditions. Other clubs, avowedly for social purposes only, have been led into public work of many kinds and now boldly advocate industrial reforms. Education and the betterment and extension of the public school systems throughout the country receive earnest attention from nearly all clubs that belong to the General and State federations."

New York State takes the lead in the matter of women's clubs, having 196 organizations with 25,000 members. Next is Massachusetts, with 123 clubs and 17,000 members. Illinois is third, with 185 clubs and 15,000 members. Pennsylvania has 71 clubs with 8,607 members; the District of Columbia ten clubs with 5,000 members.

Naturally the city clubs are the most formidable. "The most effective application of social economics by club women," says Mrs. Henrotin, "is found in the municipal and civic measures they have carried through in so many communities." Most conspicuous among clubs of this sort are the Civic Club of Philadelphia, organized "to promote by education and active co-operation a higher public spirit and a better social order," and the Women's Health Protective Association of New York, which has been in existence fifteen years and to whose efforts the city directly owes many important reforms in sanitation, cleanliness and public education.

In many cities local federations of clubs exist, which is of course a great point when it comes to a matter of influencing public opinion on reform propositions. These federations are described as having

"strengthened all the work of good men toward purer politics and better civic conditions."

Whatever the outcome of the equal suffrage propaganda, such a movement as is represented in these clubs proves that at most the ballot is but one of many possible avenues of effective reform effort open to women. Perhaps, if the truth were known, the ballot would prove far less effective and important than the sort of means already employed. There is a subtle psychology about the matter which cannot be ignored. Back of all problems of democratic government lies the great blanket fact that, before anything really useful can be done, sufficient and intelligent public opinion in its favor must be created. This done, to carry the proposition into effect is a secondary matter. However delayed or opposed, it must ultimately win. If it be true that the power of women in affecting public opinion, through organization and social and individual influence in behalf of the great industrial, moral and educational reforms for which the world is waiting, is greater than if they were to be reduced to the status of actual contestants at the polls, then it is doubtful if any material point would be gained by universal suffrage. At any rate, to create wholesome, active, progressive and determined public opinion, whether by agitation or by concrete examples of practical work done, is the great consideration. Whatever tends to that end is a prime agent of social advance.

This is what the women's clubs are doing, and this is why they are in the field to stay and are bound to grow in numbers and influence. That their work is rapidly tending to center itself upon civics and social economics, while not surprising, is none the less gratifying as a guaranty of new steps in social progress.

GETTING RIGHT AT LAST

The *New York Journal of Commerce* is one of the ablest and most level-headed daily journals in the United States. It confines its discussions very largely to economic and business problems, and enters the field of politics only in pursuit of these topics. Moreover, on these great national economic questions in the long run it usually heads in the right direction. Few publications in this country, for instance, represent sounder and more comprehensive views or have presented more feasible propositions for dealing with the banking and currency question, which is of such pressing moment to-day.

On the trust question the *Journal of Commerce* was at first clear, pronounced and philosophical. As early as 1887, when trusts were beginning to be discussed, the *Journal of Commerce* had a series of editorials discussing the subject in a broad and comprehensive manner. In these articles it ably advocated the principle that trusts were simply large corporations, whose existence was a part of the natural development of modern industry. It cited, as is its wont, data from various industries to show that the tendency was not only natural but strictly economic; that it was in the line of productive efficiency, and could not be stopped without arresting industrial progress. Moreover, it did not take the narrow position of a special pleader and claim that the trusts or growing corporations would be free from injurious aspects, but on the contrary predicted that these defects must be expected and rationally dealt with. It warned the community against making the mistake of rashly confounding the defects of trusts with the essential character of these organizations, and emphasized the idea that the true attitude is to direct the efforts of society towards the elimination of the

defects or flaws, and not attacking the organizations as such, since that would practically be attacking the inherent method of industrial progress.

In those editorials it furnished data showing that the tendency of these large corporations is to lower the price of the commodities they produce, as well as improve the quality, and among the industries it cited were the cotton cloth, petroleum, cottonseed oil, sugar, railroad transportation and telegraphy. It also pointed out with great clearness that the results of this tendency were greatly to the advantage of labor as well as to the public as consumers. In fact, its presentation of the case was philosophical and impregnable.

The progress of events since then has fully sustained the position the *Journal of Commerce* took on the trust question twelve or more years ago. Unfortunately, however, for some unexplained reason, the flood-tide of antagonism to trusts apparently swept the *Journal of Commerce* off its feet. The editorial sage and presiding genius evidently slackened his hold on the reins, and the younger men, more susceptible to the opinions of the street, have occupied the box. During the last couple of years it has frequently indulged in editorial outbursts that would have done credit to Bryan or Altgeld.

In our last issue we asked the *Journal of Commerce* please to state specifically what it would recommend to be done in order to suppress trusts. We said: "We should like to ask this paper to answer a single straightforward question on the subject. It is this. What should be done by legislation to prevent trusts? As we understand it, the *Journal of Commerce* stands for the right of private property, the free mobility and investment of capital, and the right of individual and associate enterprise. Now what would it recommend in the case of trusts? Should the law prohibit partner-

ship and corporate concerns, should the law limit the amount of capital such firm or corporate enterprise can employ, should it restrict the kind or variety of business a concern may undertake? Will the *Journal of Commerce* state itself clearly and unequivocally on this subject?"

On the fourteenth of August it returned to the subject in an evidently enlightened state of mind. Not from anything we had said, of course, but presumably from a return of economic sanity and equilibrium. From whatever reason, it has manifestly become alarmed at the dimensions and momentum of the anti-trust whirlwind which it has been helping to create. It sees that the anti-trust movement is not a serious economic movement, but that it is being made into a political boom of the cheapest and perhaps the most dangerous kind. The *Journal of Commerce* now sees what in its normal state it ought to have seen at least three years ago, that for the most part those who are shrieking against trusts neither know nor care anything about the economic problem involved, and are simply political windmills trying to create a partisan cyclone that shall sweep economic, financial and political stability from the administration of our public affairs, and place the government of this country in the hands of an element whose chief aim is the repudiation of debts, debasement of our currency, destruction of private enterprise and establishment of a quasi-socialist populist political regime. A realizing sense of the chaos to come has obviously dawned upon the *Journal of Commerce*, and it has once more placed its feet at least on the edge of the rock that it stood so firmly upon a dozen years ago. It has sounded what to its recent readers may seem like a new note, but it is really a return to its own good sense upon the subject. We reprint nearly all of its editorial of August 14th, entitled

"Attacks on Trusts," because it is so full of correct analysis and good sense, which we take as conclusive evidence that hereafter the *Journal of Commerce* will be as it was and always ought to have been, the sound, sensible leader, instead of an ordinary mob shouter on so important a topic:

"Next winter there will probably be an epidemic of anti-trust legislation, or rather of proposed legislation. There are two circumstances that will immensely stimulate the introduction not only at Albany but at other State capitals and at Washington of bills aimed at particular corporations or combinations, or at combinations and corporations in general. One of these is that the creation of combinations has been far greater this year than ever before. There has never been anything previously like the organization of corporations embracing other corporations and colloquially called trusts since January 1. On the other hand, a national election will occur next year and each political party and every politician is eager to do something to establish its or his popularity. The cheapest way of doing this is to attack the trusts. . . . Most of the anti-trust propositions that rise above the level of 'strike' bills will be designed entirely to secure some advantage in the political campaign.

"As the working classes contain a very large number of voters, some of whom are well organized, efforts will be made to convince them that attacks on trusts are particularly in their interest; they are already hostile to trusts and will easily believe anything of this sort. It is time, therefore, to warn the public generally, and especially the working classes, that one of the most delicate and risky of all tasks is the framing of legislation against business organizations. One case ought to be remembered by the labor unions. The first application of the Sherman anti-trust law fell upon

strikers in New Orleans, and for some time it seemed as if that law could not be made to reach any combination except a combination of workingmen. It being well understood at the outset that the principle of the joint stock corporation will not be touched by any legislative body, labor leaders should beware how they secure legislation against combinations or the combinations of laborers will be the chief sufferers. Nothing more injurious to the labor interests in any State could occur than legislation calculated to drive manufacturing corporations into other States. This sort of thing has occurred and it can easily be repeated.

"The trusts are large employers of labor. It has not been shown that they are more disposed than small concerns to reduce wages. This year they have raised wages promptly and liberally. The trusts pretty generally seek to raise prices, but very few of them have been successful in this for any length of time. In spite of their efforts prices have almost uniformly declined, until quite recently the improved condition of business has fostered a demand which has raised prices.

"The problem of the trusts is a serious one to distributors, to small manufacturers, to manufacturers who are not taken into the combinations, and to drummers and clerks who are thrown out of employment; they present possibilities of loss to the speculating and investing public, and they introduce an unwholesome element into the trade affected by them. The trusts require legislation, but good and useful legislation will never come from the efforts of demagogues. We need more sober and intelligent discussion of the trust problem; and hasty or ill-advised action may easily injure most those whom it is first intended to benefit."

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

THE PRESS IS denouncing the meat trust for the recent rise in the price of butcher's meat. As it happens, there is no meat trust. The great meat packers are competitors. The rise has taken place in live stock, which has risen nearly three cents on the hoof. There is nothing approaching a trust among cattle raisers.

MAITRE LABORI, whose portrait forms our frontispiece this month, is the man of all others to whom, if justice and honor triumph in the tragic struggle at Rennes, that hopeful and liberty-saving result will be due. Better another revolution than that the utterly rotten and unscrupulous cabal dominating French military (and largely its official) life be whitewashed and perpetuated by re-conviction of an almost certainly innocent man. If Labori fails in his heroic battle against high conspiracy and inspired assassination, France ought no longer to disgrace the name Republic, but promptly borrow a czar from Russia or install another "Little Napoleon."

A FEW MONTHS ago there was reason to fear that the business boom in this country would take on a dangerous amount of inflation. The reorganization of corporations into colossal concerns with a tendency unduly to multiply stock very properly created alarm. It is encouraging to note that a halt was called in good time, that the inordinate rush sobered down, and that the boom is really on a solid foundation of business prosperity. No better evidence of this could be forthcoming than the fact that in many staple industries, conspicuously iron and steel, the demand for the product to fill cash orders exceeds the capacity of production. Many of the large firms have closed their books to orders for

months to come. This is partly due to the fact that American manufacturers are receiving orders from Russia, France and Great Britain. It ought not to be a matter of surprise, with such an expansion of trade, that prices go up, at least until the productive capacity has been increased so as adequately to meet the demand. A part of this great prosperity is also shown in the general rise in wages in all industries, which in the iron and steel industries amounts to fully 25 per cent. And yet, in the midst of this exceptional prosperity, Mr. Bryan hopes to be elected president by advocating a policy to smash it all.

A GOOD DEAL is being said in certain quarters about the rise in prices. During the four years of depression preceding 1896 the great cry of the nation was that everybody was suffering because prices were falling. The free silver campaign rested chiefly on the claim that free coinage of silver would raise prices, and therefore give prosperity to farmers and high wages to laborers. Now the prosperity has come without free silver, wages are going up and prices are rising, and that very fact is to be made the basis of an appeal by the same party, with the same Mr. Bryan as leader. The rise in wages they never mention, but the rise in prices is all charged to trusts. It is a peculiar fact, however, that the products of the great former trusts like the Standard Oil Company or the American Sugar Refining Company have not risen at all, but many products which are not in any way connected with trusts have risen. There is no trust connected with the production of pig tin, for instance, and it has risen 76 per cent. since the first of November. Steel plates, which are free from trusts, have risen 127 per cent. Bar, E., iron, refined, 82 per cent.; steel rails 67 per cent.; pig iron 94 per cent. The fact is that, taking a group of 100 products, including all those produced by

so-called trusts, it will be found that the rise in prices among the non-trust products is as great and in some instances much greater than those of so-called trusts.

IN ITS ZEAL for sound money the *New York Times* charges the republican party, and specifically the administration, with refusing to pass sound fiscal legislation because it would deprive it of a good political issue:

"The republicans are not such fools as to kill this silver goose that every four years lays them the golden egg of victory. If they should enact a bill making gold the standard measure of value in our currency system, the silver issue would disappear. . . . What republican leaders would swap that one sure, victorious campaign issue for a lot of nascent and nebulous questions as to which the voters might make up their minds the wrong way?"

To this vulgar charge there are two vital objections: (1) It is bad breeding in the *Times* to indulge in this disreputable method of discussion, and (2) the charge is not true. There is no evidence that the republican party has any clear views of sound money. Some republicans believe in free silver yet. Some of them are fiat greenbackers. Hosts of them believe in the national banks, and but a very small minority of the party really grasp the elementary principles of a sound monetary system. What the republican party needs is education on the money question, and what good manners requires is that the *Times* discuss the subject and not indulge in abusive charges of wholesale dishonesty. Impugning motives and calling names was never known to convince anybody. It is always better to prove a man a liar than call him one.

THE NEW YORK SUN assures us that "The gold standard is already established by law, and no further enactment can establish it any more thoroughly or prevent political assault upon it in 1900. Nothing is possible to Congress at the next session, so far as that matter goes, except to re-enact the act of 1873, which made the 'gold dollar the unit of value,' and took away from silver the privilege of free coinage."

The *Sun* seems to forget that we have about five hundred millions of standard silver dollars which are full legal tender, and that since 1896 we have coined nearly two millions a month of standard silver dollars. Since January 1894 61,326,744 standard silver dollars have been coined and 10,414,664 were coined the first six months in 1899. If a free silver president should be elected he could, independently of congress, order the payment of national coin obligations in silver, which would have the effect of practically putting us on a silver basis. It would convert all our paper money except the gold certificates to a silver value, which would create a panic that would knock our present prosperity endwise. If the next congress should pass a law forbidding the president to pay any national obligations in anything but gold, Bryan would be powerless to do anything of this disrupting character without having a majority in both houses of congress, which it would take several years to procure.

MR. J. J. LITTLE, the Tammany president of the school board for the boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx, has issued a pamphlet to explain that in refusing to convict Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, editor of the *Educational Review*, of libel, the court erred, and really ought to have sent him to jail. Dr. Butler was guilty of referring to Mr. Little as "That fine old educational mastodon," and of saying that "Commis-

sioners O'Brien, Van Hoesen, Kittel and Davis . . . are not so easily impressed as are some others by the cohesive power of public plunder." Of course Mr. Little had no difficulty in getting the Tammany district attorney to make the grand jury indict Dr. Butler for saying the obvious; but when he got into court he had something besides mere Tammany henchmen to convince and of course the case was dismissed. That Mr. Little should not like to be called a mastodon is quite natural. Nor is it to be expected that he would really relish the remark that "Commissioners O'Brien, Van Hoesen, Kittel and Davis are not so easily impressed by the cohesive power of public plunder." But it was to be expected that after he had lost his head sufficiently to rush into court and thus expose himself to the ridicule of the community he would at least have had the good judgment, if not the dignity, to keep still on the subject. But the fact that he has spread himself on the pages of a pamphlet goes far to prove the correctness of Dr. Butler's estimate. In fairness it must be admitted, however, that he has made one point against Dr. Butler. He has conclusively proven that he is too Little ever to have been a mastodon.

DISCUSSING THE "Tariff Tendencies in Great Britain" in the *Forum* for August, Thomas Gibson Bowles, member of parliament for King's Lynn, shows marked signs of skepticism on the infallibility or even permanent endurance of the free trade policy for England. After severely criticising Mr. Lowe for abolishing the final shilling-a-quarter duty on wheat, he says:

"It may here be remarked that the apostles of Free Trade in England were not precisely men who took no thought for the morrow. It had been pointed out to them by their esoteric teachers, and notably by McCulloch, that with cheap bread it would be possible to pay

the workman lower wages without driving him out of existence; that, therefore, Free Trade in corn for the people meant higher profit for the manufacturers."

He points out the absurdity of "the great central free trade doctrines, that it is the *motive* which governs all, and that, therefore, while even a 1 per cent. duty on corn [wheat] would be outrageous because suggesting the motive of Protection, there is no such wickedness in the 247 per cent. duty on tobacco."

Of course this is very wicked talk for an English member of parliament, but it indicates how bold such heresy is becoming in the country where free trade for half a century has been a national dogma that brooked no criticism without severe political penalty.

Mr. Bowles also calls attention to the fact that in 1898 the tobacco duty was remitted "to the extent of £1,000,000; but it is complained that tobacco is none the cheaper, and that all the remission went into the pockets of manufacturers." To point out such facts is rank protectionism. He even goes the length of advocating a return to the shilling-a-quarter duty on wheat. One might almost as soon have expected to see a member of parliament advocate a return to Catholicism as the national religion. If Mr. Bowles is not excluded from the house of commons and ostracised from politics it must be because the faith of the people in free trade is declining.

IN STOPPING THE consummation of the Ramapo Company scheme to secure a contract to supply New York City with water, Controller Coler has rendered a real public service. It is quite safe to say that much of the newspaper talk about the villainy of the Ramapo Water Company is political talk and love of sensation, but, independently of this and for altogether different reasons, the scheme should be unhesitatingly rejected.

This is one of the few cases where public ownership is in the interest of public welfare. The profit and loss in the supply of water is not to be found on the ledger, but in the health of the people and the wholesomeness of their domestic surroundings. Abundance of pure water for a large city like New York is more important than anything that can be indicated by the mere money expense of supplying it. The water supply of large cities should be owned by the public, because it is too important to be affected by price considerations. When the water supply is owned by a corporation their only consideration will be the profits of the transaction. Neither the adequacy of the supply nor the purity of the water can be relied upon from such a motive. It may be necessary to spend millions on the watersheds, to protect the purity of the streams contributing to the supply, as well as to prevent its appropriation in other directions. It cannot be expected that private enterprise will expend large sums in this way, unless it is stipulated in its contract. When the water supply is in the hands of the city, however, it can, and with the proper public spirit will, do whatever is necessary regardless of the cost. The supply of the water for a large city is one of the cases where abundant quantity and purest quality should be insisted on, regardless of the money cost. Under no circumstances, therefore, should the Ramapo Water Company be given the contract to supply New York City with water, even though their motives were angelic and their character beyond suspicion.

IT RARELY HAPPENS that a man with positive convictions, past middle age, faces about on an important question of national policy. Hon. William R. Grace, ex-Mayor of New York City, a conspicuous leader of the anti-Tammany and free trade wing of the democratic party and one of the most prominent champions of

Mr. Cleveland's cause, has publicly confessed a change of faith on the most conspicuous topic connected with his (Mr. Grace's) public career, the tariff. But despite his long experience in public life and close adherence to free trade doctrine, the last six or seven years' experience—four years under Cleveland and nearly three years since—has thoroughly converted him. In an interview with the New York correspondent of the *Philadelphia Press* he announces his conversion thus:—

"I now see, as I believe clearly, that the amazing growth in all that makes for permanently prosperous conditions and in all influences that have so recently established the United States as a first power among the nations of the world, not only politically, but financially and commercially, is due in great measure to the policy of Protection. I never dreamed that the time would come when I should be willing to make an admission of this kind. But facts are stronger than theories, and the fact remains that in the past six years we have had abundant proof that there is some fallacy, so far as the United States is concerned, in the doctrine which the Democratic party held and which Mr. Cleveland proclaimed in his message."

This speaks well for Mr. Grace's intellectual integrity, as well as his sound sense and observation. Not a few of Mr. Grace's comrades in the last six years' experience must have seen and felt as he does. Nothing but stupid idiocy could prevent them from seeing what has happened. If they look upon this picture and upon that there is no escape from the obvious difference. But the pride of opinion, party allegiance, fear of political ostracism or loss of other advantages, and in many instances the false vanity of seeming consistency, in never changing their opinion, prevent them from admitting the obvious. Ex-Mayor Grace, however, is an honorable, nay a monumental exception. He has proved himself big enough to admit that he was wrong, which is a virtue that few public men are equal to. But it is a real mark of strength. The public man who is big enough to keep his opinions in harmony with the evidence can always be trusted, and will most frequently be right.

CIVICS AND EDUCATION

THE ECONOMIC IDEA IN EDUCATION.

CHARLES DE GARMO, PH.D.

Men who use old words with new meanings are obliged to explain what significance they ascribe to these terms in order to be understood. That it may be clearly seen just what is involved in the word *economic* as here used, attention is invited first to some of the main standpoints from which the problems of education may be viewed.

Some lay the emphasis upon the human side, claiming that no education is inherently valuable that does not deal principally with the thought, language, history and institutions of men; others, like Herbert Spencer, inquire what knowledge is of most worth, and find the answer in natural science alone. Still others, fixing their eyes upon the interaction of human and natural forces in industrial activity, lay the chief stress in education on manual and other technical training.

The first position is summarized in Pope's dictum, "The proper study of mankind is man." This aspect of education became prominent at a time when the natural sciences were in embryo, when men were educated only for professional life, and when knowledge was recorded mostly in the languages of the ancient world. The chief instruments of education were necessarily, therefore, the classic languages, logic and philosophy. Natural science in the modern meaning of the term has had its development during the lifetime of men now in middle age, and has slowly won for itself a dignified place as an instrument in education. It has developed its own method of procedure, which is that of the laboratory. Admitted at first as useful knowledge, it has succeeded in gaining recognition as

a valuable means of mental discipline. As matters now stand, we have in education the clear recognition of two factors, (1) that which pertains to man as independent of nature, and (2) that which pertains to nature as independent of man.

Before I can hope to have sympathetic attention to the economic idea in education from those not accustomed to think in this way, I must call further attention to a phase of education which, having its genesis in the conditions of former times, has been preserved, perhaps mostly by teachers themselves, almost up to the present. Why have the industrial classes steadily held aloof from the higher education for the last 300 years, claiming that classical training in ancient languages and mathematics is not only not helpful but is actually harmful to a man of affairs? Not only does this conviction of practical men apply to the classics, but it extends, perhaps in a less degree, to the natural sciences as they are taught in the college. The reason for this state of the public mind is to be found, as it seems to me, in our academic faith in what we call formal discipline of the mind, that is, the mind training that comes from the performance of difficult tasks having little knowledge content. Studying the grammatical construction of words in Greek and Latin is an example of what is meant by a formal discipline. It is not thought, but only the grammatical form by means of which thought is expressed. Curiously enough the first recognition that science obtained in education was on the formal side. The discoveries of men like Newton and Kepler by means of the higher mathematics greatly impressed the people with the value of this branch of knowledge. This exaggerated notion of the importance of mathematical training is reflected even now in every country school. The schoolmaster was quick to seize upon the new and workable instrument of teaching, and to the

formal teaching of languages added the formal side of the sciences, for mathematics is only the consideration of the quantitative relations of the actual knowledge involved in natural science.

These formal instruments of training were soon invested by the teacher with an almost sacred importance. Through them, he thought, lay the only road to culture and liberal training. And there is some reason for this opinion. What device for mental gymnastics could be simpler or more complete? The teacher assigns twenty lines of Cicero. What must the student do to learn the lesson? He must find the meaning of every word, both from the dictionary and from its grammatical construction in the sentence. Here is material for two hours of hard work, for an exercise of memory and judgment, as well as for ingenuity in putting the puzzle together. No device could make the work easier for the teacher or harder for the student. The same is true of mathematics. An assignment of ten problems in algebra may require hours of the hardest kind of mental application by the student. The difficulties to be overcome are perfectly definite, easily adjustable to the student's capacity, progressive in kind, and, best of all, actually surmountable through diligence of effort. As mechanical devices for making the mind of the student work and, if he so desires, for allowing that of the teacher to rest, they are perfect. Who can wonder that the educator should invest them with almost religious sanctity, or should fiercely resist innovations that threaten to diminish their apparent usefulness?

The devotion of the professor to this formal discipline has led him to imagine that he was imparting the universal type of all possible higher education, whereas he has been in large degree a technical trainer for a few learned professions; for lawyers, doctors, ministers,

statesmen, professors and literati. This fact, so obscure to some, has been clear to the rest of the world, and they have persistently refused the prescription of classical study for all callings.

One of the main effects of the introduction of positive systems of knowledge into the curriculum has been to correct the exaggerated estimate that men have hitherto put upon grammar and mathematics, and to enrich the school work with real knowledge, not only on the side of science but also on that of the humanities. History, social and political science, and the thought content of languages are now fully recognized as legitimate material in education. Knowledge studies are harder to teach than language and mathematics but when equally well taught are far more valuable, since to mental gymnastics are added the worth of the knowledge itself and the splendid enthusiasm that comes of doing real things.

Brushing aside for the time being all preconceived theories of what the mind needs and what it must have to be properly educated, are we not ready to see that one more step must be consciously taken to make education a preparation for life?—not for a few men, or for a few purposes, but for all men and for all purposes. Universal education is an ideal dream so long as it is formal and abstract, and so long as it persists in holding apart the two factors of all economic progress, man and nature. By the economic idea in education I mean, primarily, the purposeful union of these two elements in such a way that mental discipline, useful knowledge and direct preparation for the activities of life shall be simultaneously and directly promoted.

This phase of education, which, for want of a better term, we are calling the economic, represents the reciprocal effects that man and nature have upon each

other. It includes direct preparation of the mind and body for the more perfect utilization of tools, as in all forms of manual or industrial education; the training of the eye and hand and æsthetic taste in industrial, mechanical and æsthetic drawing; the economic application of natural science as in botany, zoology, and chemistry; the commercial bearings of geography; and finally all species of technical, industrial and commercial science.

The commonly received doctrine among schoolmen is that one must first have a liberal general education, say up to the age of 19 or 20, and then prepare for one's life work in a special school. Suitable as this plan may be for professional life, there are many educational and practical objections to the general adoption of such a plan. If the application of knowledge and mental power are wholly divorced from their natural combination until a mature age is reached, the student is often in danger of considering his education a mere subjective affair, having little close relation to his life activities. This is what men of affairs mean when they say a college education unfits the young for business. Such a procedure has, furthermore, had the effect of limiting the benefits of higher education to a small class of the community, *viz.*, to those who go into professional work and to the small number who can afford a college training as an intellectual luxury. If, however, the economic bearing of education can be recognized from the beginning in ideal and real forms, we shall win new and large classes of the community for the higher culture, without sacrificing in the least any good thing we now have, and without diminishing the number who now avail themselves of what we consider a liberal education.

A breath of real life in the schoolroom, though often a surprise, is always refreshing. Many a lad

whose mind is torpid to introspective methods of formal education, awakes to an active interest in study as soon as he sees its bearing on some ambitious dream of his own. A boy dead to spelling may be found alive to the constructing of a machine, or the drawing of a beautiful or useful object, or to the study of the commercial relations between ourselves and the lands, let us say, where the banana grows. Many a well-to-do merchant who now puts his boy into the store as soon as he leaves the grammar school would put him through the high school or even the college could he once see that such a course would be a positive preparation for a successful industrial life. The history of higher education for the last two hundred years should convince us that unless we desire to continue to restrict the higher culture to a caste, we must take the step advocated in this paper, and recognize in our practice from the lowest to the highest schools the educational value and practical utility of the economic idea in education.

It must ever remain the chief function of the elementary school to furnish the child with the tools of knowledge—to teach him to gather and express thoughts by means of language, and to make him capable of performing the fundamental operations of number. Yet, notwithstanding this fact, there are a number of places in which the work may focus in the economic idea. This is particularly true in the simpler forms of manual training in cardboard and wood sloyd, and in elementary æsthetic, mechanical and industrial drawing. The practicability and educational usefulness of these lines of work have been amply discussed and these subjects already receive much attention in a large number of schools. I do not, therefore, deem it needful to make any extended remarks upon this phase of the subject. There is, however, a golden opportunity daily

lost in nearly every intermediate and grammar school in the land. Geography is taught mostly in its political and mechanical aspects. The child's mind is loaded with a vast horde of details pertaining to political divisions and subdivisions, to the location of towns, cities, mountains, rivers, lakes, islands and bays, the causal connection of facts being generally ignored. I am far from claiming that such knowledge is valueless, for it does indeed have its proper place. Geography has in reality three main functions in education. It throws light upon the humanistic phase of education, in that it shows the present resultant of political forces, and also shows the direction given to the course of history by the physical surroundings of the various peoples. In a still more striking way it is a rational basis of a large part of natural science, as we see in the distribution of both plants and animals, as affected by climate, food-supply and soil, together with the conditions of their multiplication and development.

But in its most striking and in many aspects most important function, the economic one, geography is generally ignored or superficially taught. If in the study of grammar the student gets a somewhat concrete view of the distinctions of thought, he gets in the economic phases of geography his first, most concrete, and most vivid picture of his own personal relations to the world at large. A consideration of the industries, the peoples, the countries, the means of communication, the return service, involved in even the articles upon the breakfast table, will vastly broaden a child's conception of life and his own relation to it. He can easily be made to see that a little service to the world on his part will place at his command the instruments for doing greater things than many nations ever dreamed of. Robinson Crusoe on a desert island will cease to be his ideal of the greatest earthly happiness. The climate,

the people, the productions of other countries and of other parts of his own country will be carefully studied in reference to those of his own neighborhood. In his mind's eye he will follow the produce of his own home or neighborbood to its distant destinations. The telegraph will become a mysterious messenger conveying orders for goods, the prices of commodities and the news of the day from place to place throughout the whole earth. Even the little boy on the farm will see himself a part of the great busy world, which is ready to heap wealth and honor and happiness at his feet in return for what he may hope to do, provided only that he buckle to and learn his lessons. What an inspiring view of life and its possibilities may be opened up to every crossroads urchin by the teacher who sees the significance of the economic world. The stock ambition to become president of the United States will give place to more potent aspirations.

In addition to drawing, manual training and commercial geography, the economic idea is represented ideally in elementary education by the growing literature pertaining to this aspect of life. Jules Verne's works are a type of imaginative literature which deals with the applications of science to human needs. Even arithmetic may be made much more concrete than it is. Grammar may be a study of thought itself rather than of mere forms, while reading may open up the richest mine of literary wealth that the world possesses. We get our ideas of liberal culture from the Greeks, yet it may well be a source of wonder to us how the Greeks without foreign languages, without science, without the developments of modern industrial activity, and with but the beginnings of history, literature and mathematics, could develop such a splendid conception of education. It was literature more than anything else that prepared the Greek lad for his future artistic, religious and political career.

In those days literature had the most intimate connection with a large part of the active life and thinking of the Greeks. The best literature of our own period bears the same relation to our social and political activity. It should, therefore, be utilized with the same efficiency in the schools. Perhaps it will not bear directly on money-making, but it may become the means of imparting the loftiest ideas of honesty and fidelity in business, of respect and love for parents, and it may become the inspiration of men in fitting them to enter worthily into our highly complex institutional life. It will, in short, serve to make the human side of our elementary school training focus in its appropriate field of active endeavor.

Our instruction in every common school study should thus pulsate with vital force. It is high time for us to discard that belated idea of the schoolmen that empty, formal discipline is the proper ideal of modern education. This arose from social and educational conditions in the middle ages, and has been perpetuated, I am persuaded, by the schoolmaster and the professions rather than by the thinking man of active pursuits. Whatever may have been the exigencies of education before the age of books and of science, there is no propriety for us, surrounded as we are by the most vigorous national, social, economical and political life that the world has seen, to turn our school-houses into educational deserts. It is life alone that can generate life.

With these few hints as to how the economic idea may fertilize our elementary school training, we may now pass to a brief consideration of secondary schools.

If this aspect of education is so helpful in elementary schools, where we have all the children, it becomes doubly necessary in secondary education, that it may help to keep them at school. It is only by recognizing

in our high school courses of study that school training is for life rather than for intellectual adornment, and for all life rather than for a few callings growing out of literary or formal training, that we can hope to arrest the exodus from the halls of learning to the shops of trade that now annually takes place at the close of the grammar school course.

We now have in most cities two distinct types of high schools, the literary and the manual training. The latter is a distinct triumph for the economic idea, since its avowed purpose is to blend the two trends of theoretical education, letters and science, into an economic whole. It has not diminished materially, if at all, the attendance at the literary schools, but has drawn its supply of students from classes of people who have heretofore given their children no high school education whatever. The results can only be beneficial to the community.

The main point, however, that I wish to urge in this connection is that alongside of the literary and manual training high schools we should erect a third high school whose economic emphasis shall be different from either, and which will consequently attract still other classes of students. In Europe the commercial high school has attained a remarkable success. A report by Professor E. J. James, issued by the American Bankers' Association, gives the history of the growth of a few of the most flourishing of these institutions. Students flock to them from all parts of the country in large numbers. The school at Vienna, it is said, has enrolled 16,000 students within a comparatively few years. These commercial high schools continue the instruction in geography recommended in this paper for elementary schools. The teaching is based upon clear ideas of mathematical and physical geography. The commercial geography of European and other

states is studied by taking up the geographical and topographical situation of the different countries, their configuration, climate, fertility of the soil, commercial products, commercial ability and language, emigration and immigration and agriculture, together with their industrial, commercial, financial and trade systems. A practical working knowledge of modern languages, like French, German and Spanish, is acquired; the commercial aspects of mathematics, together with algebra and geometry, are taught, as is also the theory and practice of accounts.

The elements of the sciences—biology, chemistry and physics are thoroughly taught, together with their economic applications, enabling the student to recognize and test the raw materials of the world's commerce. The technique of industry is investigated by a presentation of modern industrial methods in the factory, the mine, the commercial exchanges, the counting house, and on the ocean and farm. Industrial visits for concrete study are made as frequently as possible. The higher classes take up the history of commerce and of trade legislation, as found in mercantile law, bankruptcy, contracts, railroad and corporation legislation, elements of criminal law, forgeries, embezzlements and the like. They also enter upon the study of political economy. We find here in the languages, history, mathematics and natural sciences a good representation of humanistic and nature studies, and in a high degree their union in economic aspects that are unique, yet of the highest service to large classes of the community. Is there any good reason why cities in the United States should not take the advance here indicated? They are indeed beginning to do so, as in Philadelphia. Should we not still further break with the absurd mediæval idea that a study to be useful in mental training should be useless for life? We have already

done so in the introduction of concrete knowledge studies and in the establishment of manual training high schools. Why should the practical necessities of other times and conditions of education become so sanctified by age that new times and new conditions of life should be dwarfed by an outgrown shell; or why should an education, ideally perfect, it may be, as a preparation for one class of occupations, stand as a bar to the higher culture of far more numerous classes destined to pursue different occupations?

The logic of the position assumed in this paper extends necessarily to the college. If there is reason for showing the ultimate economic outcome of education ideally in the elementary school, and with a higher degree of practice in the secondary school, there is still stronger reason for making the closing years of higher education a preparation for life in the most comprehensive way. An ideal liberal education available for all classes will contain the three elements to which reference has so often been made, *viz.*, to the humanities, the sciences, and the economic branches. The humanities will give the formal training through the concrete material of the studies. The sciences will hold the closest relations to the ends they are to serve, while the economic studies in the narrower sense of the term will tend to give special emphasis to the applications of knowledge to the problems of economic, social and political life.

Every student should have in his course at least one representative of each of the three departments, while laying the chief emphasis upon the subjects most closely allied to his future calling. Thus the student in ancient or modern languages will devote at least a part of his time for a year or two to science studies. He will also become acquainted with the economic world directly through studies pertaining to wealth and

social conditions. The science student will in a similar way devote a part of his time to the humanities and to economics; while the student in technical branches will not devote so much time to mathematics and mechanics that he will remain ignorant of man and nature.

While it may be that a few colleges, notably those that prepare mostly for theological seminaries, may continue to devote themselves to the old formal curriculum of classics and mathematics, the wonderful modern advances in science, history, sociology, economics, together with the advancing needs of every calling for the higher education of its leaders, renders the old-time education as much of an anachronism for a large part of the community as a mediæval monastery would be in a modern city. The old education prepared a certain class of men for their life work. It trained the lawyers, the doctors, the professors, the ministers, and those who sought education because they had time, money, and inclination, or who went to college simply because they were sent.

Up to 1829 all our presidents and most of our statesmen were classicists. Then it was in order to quote Greek and Latin in speeches and writings; now one rarely hears or sees such quotations. This is not because Greek and Latin are not known, but because Greece and Rome have ceased to be our ideals of republican government. For the last fifty years men have been studying the development of the modern state, of constitutional government, of democratic institutions, so that to give Greek or Roman precedent for a proposed measure to-day excites only a smile. A new spirit has taken possession of modern higher education,—the economic spirit that would lend to every phase of training its highest possible usefulness for life.

CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL NOTES

In its recent convention at Los Angeles, the National Educational Association received the report of

The N. E. A. its committee on college entrance requirements, appointed at Denver in 1895. on economic education Among other things this committee recommended "That our colleges and universities should accept as a unit for admission a year's work in economics, including under this head a course in elementary political economy, supplemented by adequate instruction in commercial geography and industrial history."

We cannot make our endorsement of this suggestion too strong. It would probably mean establishing economic and civic studies throughout at least one entire grade below that of the college; in other words, put them into all the high schools and perhaps ultimately the public schools. It is even more important that these subjects be taught in the lower schools than in the colleges and universities to the comparatively few who ever reach those institutions.

Dr. De Garmo strikes the keynote of the times in educational policy, in his article published in this

Dr. De Garmo number. The "Economic Idea in Education" is more and more the predominating idea. The colleges and universities are gradually abandoning purely classical studies or relegating them to a position of secondary importance. Scientific courses are increasingly popular, while the students in special schools of most universities outnumber those in the liberal arts departments ten to one. Manual training is rapidly entering the public schools and, as Dr. De Garmo points out, a more practical trend can be given to almost all the subjects taken

up in the primary and secondary courses, while at the same time securing proper mental discipline. The suggestion that industrial schools similar to those in Germany be established throughout the country is good, but it is even more important to embody economic, social and civic studies in all our regular educational courses, from the college down through the public school. It is not surprising that a man holding views of the sort expressed in this article should be at the head of the Department of the Science and Art of Education at Cornell University. Cornell stands pre-eminently among American universities for the practical idea in formal training.

It is a pity that Controller Coler's struggles for a public park along the seashore at Coney Island have

A Coney Island park apparently come to naught. This was the only really commendable proposition of importance that has emanated from a Tammany official during the present administration, or perhaps during any Tammany administration. When it came to getting official endorsement and backing for the plan, it had to contend with the hundred-and-one conflicting interests and schemes of other departments of the "wigwam," and finally came to a peaceful and inconspicuous demise.

The only serious criticism that was ever made on the suggestion was that the shockingly immoral conditions at Coney Island—probably never worse in the history of the locality than just at present—would not be removed by driving these people off the water front. Perhaps this is true. The suggestion that it is really a problem of police efficiency and honesty, rather than of buying up land, is also partly true. The point is, however, that the situation is doubly offensive because of the fact that resorts and exhibitions of the sort that now

disgrace Coney Island occupy the only seaside spot capable of being made a healthful, safe and decent pleasure resort within easy reach of the people of New York. The majority of the people who visit the beach are not attracted by the vile institutions that flourish along the "Bowery," but the patronage of a sufficiently large minority keeps them there in a flourishing condition. A park would at least secure the ocean front to the masses who desire a pleasure outing without being either disgusted or themselves corrupted by the institutions of vice now running wide open and apparently under police protection. With this feature relegated back to the salt meadows in the rear, it would present itself only to those whose debauched tastes led them to seek it. Let the fight for honest police enforcement of laws go on of course, whatever else is done; but if ever opportunity presents itself for reviving the Controller's plan for a public park, may it meet better results the second time. At least New York ought to be able to do in this case as well as Boston has done at Revere Beach.

SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY

WHEN COAL GIVES OUT

There is a class of people who occupy the whole of fair weather periods in prophesying storms. When there is nothing really serious to alarm anybody, the chronic pessimists give us scarecrows of their own creation. Whenever the country is enjoying a period of business prosperity they are sure to be heard laying down the law of the periodicity of panics, and predicting one of unusual severity within a year or two. If crops are good for two or three successive seasons, lest we should become over-confident somebody prepares an elaborate magazine article proving that the world's wheat-producing capacity has been reached, and that from now on population is going to outrun the means of subsistence, until we shall have to look to wars and pestilences for relief, and Malthus will be vindicated. When this idea is exploded, or its repetition becomes too monotonous for anybody to read, the habitual alarmist takes the reverse tack and proves by statistics of decreasing birth rates in this or that country that the race is degenerating and will become extinct at no very distant period. Finally, if nothing else sufficiently gloomy suggests itself, they figure out the rate at which the earth is cooling, and how soon we shall all be frozen up, or proceed to unfold some mathematical calculation to the effect that in a hundred years or two this planet will be hit by a comet and broken into fragments.

Few subjects have given pessimists a more fruitful opportunity, and with some real basis of fact to work upon, than that of the probable duration of the coal supply. There is no doubt the time will come before very long when coal will be exhausted, and this fact has actually been made the ground of arguments against

a social order based on modern types of industry. Not that any such idea has often emanated from quarters entitled to scientific consideration, but to over-impressionable and not over-rational minds there is considerable effectiveness in lurid pictures of coming desolation and the folly of all our industrial and social reform efforts based on a system which, the mightier it becomes, is so much the faster nearing its end.

It is not a matter to be lightly disposed of with ridicule, however. Abundant as the world's coal supply still is, its limits are approximately known, and at the present rate of increase in consumption it cannot last many centuries. It is estimated that the coal fields of China, Japan, Great Britain, Germany, Russia and India contain more than three hundred billion tons of coal, which at the present rate of consumption would last the world for seven hundred years. This is to say nothing of the North American supplies. The workable coal fields of the United States cover more than one-fourth the total coal area of the world. If the present rate of consumption were not to increase, therefore, there ought to be enough coal in the world to last about one thousand years; but, as a matter of fact, with the expansion of industry going on in all civilized countries, and the industrial awakening and expansion that is to come to the vast empires of China, Russia, India, Australia and large portions of Africa and South America, together with the growing demand for fuel in the temperate and colder countries as the standard of living rises, the coal supply may be exhausted in half that time.

What then? Are we utterly dependent upon coal, so that the wheels of industry will stop and the forests be consumed for fuel when coal gives out? Of course not. It is an idle fear. Already we have the beginnings of a new method of utilizing natural energy which

will prove enormously more effective than coal ever has been, and will be practically inexhaustible, to whatever extent industry may expand.

Electrical energy, developed by water power, will run the world's industries, furnish its light and heat, and be the universal substitute for all forms of combustion methods. Water power is practically unlimited, and it will be utilized more and more in proportion as the need for it arises and as its use becomes, at different places and at successive periods, cheaper than coal. The substitution will proceed gradually, until, when the coal supply finally is exhausted, nobody will have anything more than a curious or academic interest in the matter, and probably not a ripple will be produced in the steady onward flow of the world's industry. As the use of water power to develop electrical energy increases to the point of formidable competition with coal, electrical students and inventors will doubtless bring out improvements making it possible to store the power or conduct it long distances at small cost, until our factories, railroads and ships can be operated by it, our houses lighted and warmed and food prepared, all at even less expense than is possible to-day with coal.

Italy is an example of what the world might come to when coal gives out, provided water power was not developed. There is no coal at all in Italy, but there is immense undeveloped water power. The Appennines, which run the length of the country from the northwest to the southeast, form the watershed of hundreds of important streams and scores of waterfalls. It is estimated that from the rapid falls of the Italian rivers not less than five millions of horse power can be developed, which is thirty times as much as the steam power now used in all the factories of Italy, and is more than double what Italy would be using if she occupied a rank proportionately equal industrially to other modern

countries. Already a number of companies have entered the field and commenced utilizing the water supply for the development of electrical energy, until now about three hundred thousand horse power is being regularly produced.

Of course, it goes without saying that the power developed directly by old-fashioned water wheels is insignificant compared with what can be produced when the water pressure is applied to developing electrical energy. It must be remembered, too, that on a stream with a rapid fall for a considerable distance the same water can be used over and over again, at lower levels. In fact, the available opportunities in this line are almost unlimited.

The time will undoubtedly come when even the ocean tides will be utilized. A number of experiments in this line have been made already, and some of them are said to be fairly successful. The power developed by each particular "wave motor" may never be very great, but there is no limit, practically, to the number of motors that could be operated.

Some of the most significant attempts at utilizing water power for the production of electrical energy have been made in New York State. At Massena Springs, on the St. Lawrence River, forty thousand horse power is available by diverting the water of the river; twenty thousand at Rochester, and twenty thousand more along the course of the East Canada Creek in Herkimer and Fulton Counties, to say nothing of the enormous possibilities of Niagara Falls. These represent a relatively small proportion of the possible water power in New York State, particularly in the Adirondacks, along the Genesee River, etc., but they are cited as instances where work has actually been undertaken and the possibilities of this new form of power utilization proved. The case of Niagara is the most interest-

ing of all, because here plants are being installed on the largest scale. The available horse power of the Niagara River is estimated at about ten million, of which at present only about fifty thousand is utilized. It is worth noting here that a recent writer in the *London Spectator* reports a cataract on the Sharavatti River in India with a fall of 830 feet and width of 250 rods, which would rival Niagara in power-producing possibilities.

The Niagara River is the outlet of four great lakes, Superior, Michigan, Huron and Erie, draining an area of 90,000 square miles, and has a flow of 275,000 cubic feet per second. It has a fall of 326 feet in the course of its thirty-three miles, about half this fall being at the cataract itself and the rest in the rapids both above and below.

For many decades speculations have been made on the possibilities of utilizing this enormous source of energy, but only within a few years has any practical system for carrying out the idea been possible. At present two large companies have attacked the problem, and with the greatest success. The largest of these, the Niagara Falls Power Company, has located its plant about one mile above the falls, on the American side. A short canal was excavated from the river to the power house, where a vertical pit 180 feet deep and 330 long was dug, having an outlet tunnel 7,000 feet in length, running under the village of Niagara Falls and discharging the water at the foot of the cliffs below the cataract. In the wheel pit underneath the power house are eight steel penstocks each about eight feet in diameter. To these the water is conducted from the short canal, and in each falls upon a great 5,000-horse power turbine. The direct fall of water upon these turbines is 136 feet, revolving them with tremendous force. The speed of the turbines is regulated to 250

revolutions per minute. Connected with each turbine is a vertical shaft rising through the wheel pit and operating an immense electrical generator resting on the floor of the power house. Each of these generators weighs 85 tons. There is room for two more penstocks on one side of the wheel pit, and for an entire duplicate set on the other side when it shall become desirable to build another power house on the opposite side of the feeder canal; so that the entire plant will have a capacity of 100,000 horse power. This company also proposes to erect a plant capable of developing 250,000 horse power on the Canadian side when the need shall arise.

A large part of the power developed by this company is used to operate the street railways, electric lighting plants and manufactories in and about Niagara Falls, but in addition 6000 horse power is sent to Buffalo, twenty-six miles distant, under eleven thousand volts pressure. The high pressure is for the sake of economy in transmission, but at the receiving station in Buffalo it is reduced by the proper instruments to whatever degree of force is required by the various consumers, some as low as 350 volts. The entire street railway system of Buffalo is operated by electrical power from Niagara, likewise the largest grain elevator in the world, a number of factories and shipbuilding plants, and indirectly the city is lighted from the same source. The average cost of electrical energy at Niagara Falls is about ten or twelve dollars per horse power, which is scarcely more than half the average estimated cost of horse power the world over. It is believed that the power can be transmitted to Rochester, almost one hundred miles away, with a loss of less than twenty per cent., even with the present methods of transmission. For some time to come, however, manufacturers will prefer to locate at or as near to the source of power as possible.

The other large company now operating in that vicinity is the Niagara Falls Hydraulic Power and Manufacturing Company. The power house of this company is located right at the foot of the cliffs below the falls, and it brings the water through a long surface canal from a point more than half a mile above the cataract. The penstocks in this case are practically adjacent to the face of the cliffs, and contain a series of turbines operating under a water head of from sixty to one hundred feet. This company has at present only two penstocks, but is about to add enough to bring its capacity up to one hundred thousand horse power.

Another very interesting and suggestive illustration of how water power can be utilized is found at Dolgeville, New York. There, on the course of the East Canada Creek, a turbulent and rapid stream draining a series of good sized lakes in the heart of the Adirondacks, a plant has been erected capable of developing 3,600 horse power, which is only one-sixth the estimated capacity of the stream. The power house is located below a dam constructed at High Falls, and the whole plant was formally installed on January 15th, 1898, which was a gala day for this Adirondack community and the surrounding country. This plant furnishes electric light to the village of Dolgeville and operates most of its manufacturing industries, at low rates, and it is expected to convey power to Little Falls in the Mohawk Valley, some nine miles away, in the early future. In fact, the total horse power of this stream, when fully developed, would be sufficient to operate manufacturing industries all up and down the Mohawk Valley, directly on the line of the New York Central railroad, which brings that section into touch with the principal markets of the country.

This stream is but a type of the many rivers with which the Adirondack region abounds, and most of

which can some time be made use of as sources of power for carrying on industries, running railroads and furnishing light and heat. Indeed, the great problem at present is not at all to find available heads of water, but to devise means of transmitting the power with the minimum loss for long distances. As we have suggested, it is impossible to believe that with the success of existing plants, and the spectacle of practically unlimited power going to waste on every hand, to stimulate inventive genius, methods will not be devised before very long for overcoming this difficulty of transmission. Whether it is by the discovery of some new conveyor, or by using a succession of generation plants, or by a process of storing the electricity and conveying it by freight or express, or however, the new power is bound in time to come into practically universal use. If the difficulty of transmission is never wholly obviated, it may be there will be some re-grouping of industries and communities in the near vicinity of important sources of water supply.

At any rate, electrical energy developed by plants of the general type we have described, or by the improved systems that may come into vogue later on, can supply these particular needs of mankind so long as life may continue on the planet. Not only that, but we shall get our light, power and heat with a convenience and effectiveness in comparably greater than coal and gas ever afforded, and, it may be, at a cost diminishing in proportion as we harness more and more of the world's great cataracts and impose fresh burdens on even the tides of the ocean in behalf of human welfare.

SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY NOTES

Large capitalistic trading keeps pace with large capitalistic production. The department stores apparently suffer no more from hostile criticism

Another
big store and legislation than do the industrial trusts, the rock-bottom reason in both instances being that they do in the long run actually serve the interests of the consumers. It is difficult to arouse throughout the whole community any very persistent and vigorous action, beyond the sentiment point, against institutions which, however they may be disliked, are the direct means of saving money to purchasers. The latest big mercantile enterprise projected in New York City is a new store for the firm of Simpson, Crawford & Simpson. It will extend from Nineteenth to Twentieth Street, on Sixth Avenue, with a length of 254 feet and height of seven stories. It is to be an exceptionally substantial and ornate structure, equipped with all the latest appliances for rapid and easy trading and the comfort of customers. In the center there is to be a large court, 75 by 50 feet, rising through the six stories and surmounted by a glass dome. The new building will cost nearly two million dollars and will be constructed without disturbing business in the present structure.

The *Age of Steel*, an American trade journal, believes in reduction of the hours of labor, and cites this interesting bit of experience from Russia:
Russian testi-
mony for eight
hours "Up to May, 1894, the length of the shifts in a paper mill at Dobrusch was twelve hours. These were reduced to nine hours in day work, and to eight hours in night shifts. It was a fear at first that the hours spent in the dram-shop would increase. They did not, and now the one vendor of

spirituous liquors has made a tea shop of his establishment. 'Blue Mondays' are a thing of the past. The older people till their plots of ground, and the younger have established an orchestral and vocal union, and some five hundred operatives regularly attend lectures. The manager of the works says: 'Such things were impossible under the old twelve-hour system, for there was only one recreation for exhausted workers, and that was the spirit drinking that quickly stimulated their energies.' This Russian example speaks for itself."

It does, and it speaks in accord with practically universal experience as to the social and moral effect of increasing the leisure of the working classes. Instead of opening the door to license and demoralization, it leads straight to elevation of character, purpose, and quality of individual life, and hence of civilization.

One of encouraging things about the recent growth of manufactures in the South is the corresponding spread of the trade union movement in that section. In recent reports

Labor unions in the South of the progress of labor throughout the country, some of the lengthiest items are those giving lists of new unions in the southern states,—principally Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina and Tennessee. In Georgia, for instance, during one month recently, representatives of the American Federation of Labor organized unions of granite cutters, plumbers and gas fitters in Lithonia; of plumbers and gas fitters in Atlanta; painters and decorators, boiler makers and ship-builders, carpenters and joiners, wood workers, and a federation of trades numbering five thousand members, including six textile unions, in Augusta. Steps were taken, also, to form unions of blacksmiths, iron molders, tailors, textile workers and street car employees in Augusta; negro barbers in Atlanta; paving

cutters in Lithonia, and printers and wood workers in Rome.

Perhaps all this will mean less industrial "peace" in the South than formerly, just as the relations with those who labored in the southern fields were less peaceful after the war than during the slavery era; but a little commotion of this sort will be an excellent thing for the South. It needs it. The capitalist system is going there, and beginning with long hours and low wages. Now let labor organization go also, and hold up the workingmen's side of the situation, as it should do everywhere.

It is always gratifying to note signs of a broad-minded, reasonable attitude on the part of large employers of labor towards their working-men. The recent action of the Pennsylvania Railroad in establishing a pension fund is a case in point, which we shall comment on more fully in a later issue. Almost simultaneously with this we note the adoption of a new system of "conduct marks" for the employees of the Long Island Railroad. While in itself a less important case, it is a straw showing that the wind is blowing from the same quarter on Long Island as in Pennsylvania. The Long Island plan is to keep a record for each man, showing meritorious service, faithfulness to duty, exceptional efficiency, etc. These marks are to offset any debit marks charged for short-comings. On nearly all railroads offenses are recorded and punished, by suspensions of varying length: the new plan is to give the employee a fair chance on the other side of the ledger. The Long Island road has also announced that it will pay for all emergency work the same as overtime, also the wages and expenses of employees called to court or elsewhere on company business. Men leaving the

company's employ will receive service letters showing their record. Promotions among telegraphers and towermen will be made according to seniority, based upon experience and efficiency. The right of appeal from discharges is granted to all employees, for a period of thirty days. Such a policy may be put down as evidence of wise business management, and appreciation of what modern industrial conditions require of employers in their relations to labor. The growth of this appreciative sense will mean the end of strikes and be the guaranty of industrial peace.

Here are a few of the most conspicuous cases of increased wages during the last two or three months:

Notable An increase of 25 per cent. for about
wage 45,000 iron and steel workers, conceded
increases after a conference between the manufacturers and representatives of the workingmen, held in Detroit in June. It is worth noting that the chosen representatives of the labor unions were definitely recognized in this conference, and no useless strike precipitated on that score.

An increase of 15 per cent. for the 30,000 employees in the American tin plate industry. This was the outcome of the strike of the tin plate employees and shut-down of the mills. Here too, the employers recognized and conferred with representatives of the unions; indeed, they could hardly have done otherwise if they desired ever to re-open their mills, since practically every tin plate worker in the country belongs to the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

An increase for the iron workers in eastern Pennsylvania, bringing the prevailing rate throughout all that section up to \$4.00 a ton. A year ago the rate ranged from \$2.25 to \$2.75 per ton.

An increase of 15 per cent., August 1st, for 3,000 miners in West Virginia.

An increase of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per ton, making a total increase of 15 cents per ton since March, for from 7,000 to 10,000 coal miners in the South.

An increase from $17\frac{1}{2}$ cents to 20 cents an hour for day work and 25 cents for night and Sunday work for longshoremen employed by the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company, in New York; an instance of a successful strike.

A concession of shorter hours by a large number of boiler-making and iron-ship-building firms in New York and Brooklyn; the outcome of a strike.

It is by no means intended to hold up strikes as the ideal way of getting concessions from employers of labor. It is a barbaric method, and will be eliminated in the course of industrial progress. But so long as the era of strikes remains it is well to remember that they are due quite as often to the intolerance of employers as to the rashness of the men; and also that in many important instances the strikers do win their case, notwithstanding the commonplace remark of the uninformed that all strikes fail and cost the laborers more than they ever gain.

CURRENT LITERATURE

IMPERIAL DEMOCRACY*

This book is a compilation of eight addresses or previously published articles in opposition to the policy of expansion. It is written in a high key; the author often becomes passionately eloquent, and sometimes too intense to be philosophical and too severe to be entirely fair.

The first chapter is entitled "Lest We Forget." It was delivered as an address to the graduating class of Leland Stanford, Jr., University in 1898. The key to Dr. Jordan's discussion of the subject is his intense faith in democracy. This address is full of warning against departing from the spirit and practice of democracy by any policy of colonial government or imperialism. He insists with great force that true democracy is home government, and that no man or nation can rightly by force govern another, and seldom even by their consent can they govern others well. "There are three main reasons," says Dr. Jordan, "for opposing every step toward imperialism. First, dominion is brute force; second, dependent nations are slave nations; third, the making of men is greater than the building of empires."

He proceeds eloquently to argue that the extension of dominion rests on the strength of armies. Men who cannot hold town meetings must be ruled through brute force. He cites Alaska as an example of our failure at colonial government, and with an intimate knowledge

**Imperial Democracy: A Study of the Relation of Government by the People, Equality before the Law, and other Tenets of Democracy, to the Demands of a Vigorous Foreign Policy and other Demands of Imperial Dominion.* By David Starr Jordan, President of Leland Stanford, Jr., University. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1899. Cloth, 293 pp. \$1.50.

of the subject he declares, "Our occupation of Alaska is a farce and a scandal." In his chapter on "The Colonial Lessons of Alaska" he points out, with evident familiarity with the subject, that our policy is one of depletion and starvation for the greater part of the people, and soon will be extermination, after which, he predicts that Alaska will forever remain a barren waste. He insists that the masses of Hawaii, Cuba and the Philippines can be held to industry and order only by force, the use of which is brutalizing to them and barbarizing to ourselves. He argues strongly that a republic cannot stand the strain that the government of barbarism will put upon it. "This," he says, "was the lesson of slavery, that no republic can 'endure half slave and half free.' The republics of antiquity fell because they were republics of the few only, for each citizen rested on the backs of nine slaves. A republic cannot be an oligarchy as well. The slaves destroy the republic. Wherever we have inferior and dependent races within our borders to-day, we have a political problem—"the Negro problem,' 'the Chinese problem,' 'the Indian problem.' These problems we slowly solve. Industrial training and industrial pride make a man of the Negro. Industrial interests may even make a man of the Chinaman, and the Indian disappears as our civilization touches him."

Though Dr. Jordan bears down very heavily on one side of the question, and may perhaps be fairly criticized for neglecting the other side, there is much serious truth in what he says. The negro problem is the problem of unchristian barbarism in a dozen of our states, and has practically segregated a section of our nation from the civilization of the republic. It made them politically and industrially unassimilable. It brought on a war which nearly caused the death of the republic, leaving a legacy of social hate and brutality,

persecution and revenge, race wars and lynchings, municipal neglect and pestilence-breeding squalor, dense ignorance and social degradation, which has given us several industrial disasters. Greenbackism, populism, Clevelandism, free silver and Bryanism, and their depressing consequences, would have been impossible but for the dense political stolidity bequeathed by the barbarism of the slave system. Nothing can be sounder in principle or more in accordance with political history than that the life of high democracy is sure to be endangered by attempts arbitrarily to absorb or govern large groups of barbarism.

Dr. Jordan argues also with great force that, judged from the viewpoint of progress, colonizing has been a failure throughout the world. Spain through centuries has made a continuous stream of scandalous history with her colonial policy. "The American-Spanish idea of a colony is a place to be exploited, to make its captors rich by its resources and its trade." He truly says that "The greatest scandals England has known have come from her neglected colonies." It cannot be said that English rule has really lifted the community in any of her colonies. To be sure, Canada and Australia are examples of political freedom and industrial growth, but they are also colonies only in name. England has no power of government in Canada or Australia. She has the nominal right of veto, which she does not venture to exercise very often, for fear it might grow in disrepute. The truth is that English colonies have been successful directly in proportion as they have been self-governing republics, and not mother-governed colonies at all. He points out that "Colonial expansion is not national growth. . . . Colonial aggrandizement is not national expansion; slaves are not men. Wherever degenerate, dependent or alien races are within our

borders to-day, they are not part of the United States. They constitute a social problem; a menace to peace and welfare. There is no solution of race problem or class problem, until race or class can solve it for itself. Unless the Negro can make a man of himself through the agencies of freedom, free ballot, free schools, free religions, there can be no solutions of the race problems." Free institutions cannot exist where free men cannot live.

The author further contends that "The territorial expansion now contemplated would not extend our institutions, because the proposed colonies are incapable of civilized self-government. It would not extend our nation, because these regions are already full of alien races, and not habitable by Anglo-Saxon people." He dwells very much upon our unpreparedness or unfitness for colonization by virtue of our intense democracy. England is better prepared than we for this task of colonial government, because the people of England have been trained by long habit not to be consulted by the foreign office, the colonial office, or the bureau controlling coinage and finance. In short, the foreign affairs, particularly the colonial affairs, are never matters of common discussion in England. Like banking and finance, they are left to the government, or a small group who by common consent and tradition are relied on as experts. This is not the case with anything in the United States. In this country every phase of governmental authority is subjected to the "town meeting" method of debate. It is because the people insist on knowing everything and having a word to say about every step that is taken that only those matters with which the public are familiar are likely to be done well. Matters far removed from the knowledge, experience and touch of the American people are likely to receive the most bungling treatment. First, because the peo-

ple know nothing about them; and second, having had no experience and no opportunity to develop experts, the government of distant, semi-barbarous groups is quite as likely to fall into the hands of incompetent politicians as into the hands of experienced statesmen.

Dr. Jordan insists that "the noisiest advocates of colonial expansion are among men least interested in good government at home. Chief among these are ministers, ignorant of the difficulties of wise administration, and politicians contemptuous of them. If it were not for the petty offices which the Philippines promise, half the political impulse in favor of their annexation would evaporate. Half the rest comes from the desire to dodge the issues of labor and coinage by setting people to talking of something else."

This is very severe, but there is a lot of truth in it. Nothing will so successfully postpone the consideration of important interests at home as fussing over problems abroad of the character of which most of the people are ignorant.

In his chapter "A Blind Man's Holiday," he argues vigorously and tenaciously, not merely that we ought not to have gone to the Philippines, but that we ought to leave. He says "It is bad statesmanship to make these alien people our partners; it is a crime to make them our slaves." "Conquest of the Orient," he says (page 101), "is not expansion, for there is no room for free manhood to grow there. It is useless to disclaim Imperialism when we are red-handed in the very act. Annexation without Imperialism is sheer anarchy. Annexation with Imperialism may be much worse, for so far as it goes it means the abandonment of democracy. The Union cannot endure 'half slave, half free,' half republic, half empire. We may make vassal tribes of the Filipinos, but never free states in the sense in which the name 'state' applies to Maine, Iowa or Cali-

fornia. The Philippines can have no part in the Federal Union. Their self-government must be of a wholly different kind, the outgrowth of their own needs and dispositions. What they need is not our freedom, but some form of paternal despotism or monarchy of their own choosing which shall command their loyalty and yet keep them in peace."

Chapter Seven, entitled "The Captain Sleeps," is a reply to an editorial on Philippine history in the *Outlook*, and really, Dr. Abbott is flayed alive. Dr. Jordan raises a blister with every stroke of the pen. It is a veritable Philippic. It would be fair to say that in this book Dr. Jordan has presented about all the reasons, except those purely economic, that can be presented against annexing the Philippines or adopting a colonial or imperial policy. The criticism to be made on the book is that the author does not give due weight to the inevitable. It may be granted that to have demanded or even voluntarily accepted the Philippines was a mistake, but having made one mistake it is not the act of wisdom to make another, which may involve a series of mistakes. We are in the Philippines and, if the truth could be known, it is more than probable that the President himself wishes we were not. But to "pull out some dark night and escape from the great problem of the Orient as suddenly and as dramatically as we got into it," as Dr. Jordan suggests, would be adding a still bigger blunder to the list. It would neither be honorable, statesman-like nor moral. Wisely or unwisely, we have gone too far to turn and run away. Quite independently of the effect that such a cowardly course would have upon our reputation as a nation among the nations of the world (not an unimportant fact for civilization) and the effect it would have upon our own people, such a course would in all probability be the worst crime that could now be committed against the Filipinos. They would

be in a state of internal chaos and wrangle, and would soon be made a prey of more warlike nations. Japan, Russia, Germany, England, would probably all enter into a general scramble, which would not merely take war to the Philippines but might extend it to Europe and Asia.

While Dr. Jordan does not show any of the treasonable spirit revealed by Edward Atkinson—on the contrary every page glows with the warmth of patriotic zeal—yet his opposition to the present policy is so strong that the influence of the book is likely to have an effect upon the reader somewhat akin to Atkinson's tirades. It should be remembered, however, that Dr. Jordan's addresses were mostly delivered before the war in the Philippines had reached its present state. The spirit of every line of the book is loyalty to the people, institutions and civilization of the United States. The intense note and high-wrought tone which pervades the entire book is not in the least charged with malice or hostility to the administration, but rather with fear for the institutions and people of the United States. The book is not the voice of hostility but the voice of alarm. He is crying aloud in the wilderness lest the republic unwittingly becomes involved in a policy that shall inure to its own injury, or even destruction. He cries: "The ship is on fire. The Captain sleeps. The sailors storm in vain at his door. When he shall rise, we doff our hats in respectful obeisance. If we have brought a false alarm, on our heads rests the penalty."

ADDITIONAL REVIEWS

MY YOUNG MAN. By Rev. Louis Albert Banks, D.D. Funk and Wagnalls Company, New York and London. Cloth, 12mo, 123 pp. 75 cents.

This is a series of addresses delivered in the Young Men's Christian Association Hall, Cleveland, Ohio. They deal with many phases of a young man's personal, social and home relations, his business responsibilities and civic duties. The tone of these little talks is wholesome and helpful, although not marked by any very conspicuous originality. Dr. Banks' advice to the young citizen is altogether commendable.

"The individual citizen," he says, "has no right to be indifferent to the problems of citizenship. If this is true, then it is the duty, evidently, of every young man to look well to his own education in citizenship. A man ought to count himself ignorant and uneducated who does not have on his tongue's end a clear analysis of all the general conditions of the government under which he lives. . . . I urge upon young men, as a most solemn duty, that they read books on political economy and on the functions of government, those comparing different forms of government, and especially those discussing questions of municipal government. . . . An hour a day devoted to such subjects for the next year would make any young man a bright, wide-awake, well-informed citizen, capable of thinking about and discussing the public issues of the day with intelligence, and able to find his way through the mists and haze of politics to sensible decisions."

A suggestion of this sort is no novelty to readers of these pages, but we are glad to note from any quarter appreciation of the importance of political and economic education, especially when it is directed to the attention of young men, as in the case of these addresses.

EVOLUTIONARY POLITICS. By Walter Thomas Mills, A. M. Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. Cloth, 255 pp.

We give a couple of specimens of this author's style of logic, as characteristic of what might be called the blacksmith method of mending the delicate watchworks of complex modern society. In discussing public and private ownership of industry, for instance, he says: "The only way this machinery can be used at all is for it to be used for the common benefit. If it is to be devoted to the use of all, it ought to be subject to the ownership of all." The diverting feature of this is not that Mr. Mills completely drops out the necessary middle premise, but that he is so blissfully unconscious of the fact that any middle premise was ever needed. Of course, to make the syllogism good, the first premise must be followed by the statement that "Machinery cannot be used for the common benefit unless it is owned by all." But this premise would have required proof, and the Mills style of argument gets along more easily without it. Of course, the whole point of the question lies right in this omitted premise, and hangs upon proving whether it be true or not.

Again, in talking about the street railways of Chicago, he cites the case of a family of seven children living in Englewood, supported by a young girl who works in a department store for three dollars a week. "Of this sum she pays 60 cents a week for car fares. The family is living on the \$2.40 that is left." He then proceeds to moralize on the extortion practiced on her in order that the bond- and stock-holders of the company may reap exorbitant returns on their investments. But why did he not make out a complete case, while he was about it? He could easily have gone on in the same way and shown how she is plundered of the remaining \$2.40. Every time she patronizes the grocery store, or the butcher, or the baker, or buys any-

thing whatever for the support of her six little brothers and sisters, she is contributing to the profits of some heartless enterprise which the law permits to rob her of her little income. Why not make it a crime to charge for anything?

Every one of the great problems raised and blundered over in this little volume are entitled to serious discussion, but not along the lines of argument advanced by this author. The book is not worth serious controversion, but is only to be cited as a lamentable example of the sort of material that too easily pass current for authoritative argument on topics that vitally affect our national security and progress.

FALLING PRICES AND THE REMEDY. By Lyman F. George. George Publishing Co., Boston. Cloth, 231 pp. Without index.

If the object of this book was to demonstrate that a person may have a sufficiently inverted view to go to the trouble and expense of writing and paying for the publication of a book to proclaim as a gospel the opposite of what is obviously true, it would seem to have accomplished its purpose. We have waded through an immense amount of fleeting literature on money and prices, presented in the highest key of eloquent earnestness, but it is doubtful if in the whole mass of cheap-money literature anything has appeared which for misinformation, inverted view and misdirected earnestness equals the contribution of Mr. George. He rails against the fall of prices as a crime against humanity, as if dear wealth was the yeast of civilization.

The remedy presented is bimetallism. Like all writers and talkers for this doctrine, Mr. George seems not to know the difference between a fall in prices from industrial disturbances and the fall in prices from economic improvements. Instead of falling prices being a

universal calamity, they are the sure sign of progressive civilization. There can be no real progress in any country unless there is a fall in prices or a rise in wages, which is in effect the same thing. In other words, there can be no real improvement in social welfare in any community in which the daily earnings of labor will not, as time goes on, buy more things. Where this does occur, it means that the prices of things have fallen. Whoever, therefore, indiscriminately cries out against falling prices as a social and national calamity is a false prophet, and it is fair to assume is but slightly acquainted with the subject he is talking about. The only advantage that the discovery of steam, the invention of machinery, and the application of science to production has rendered to society is in lowering prices and making wealth cheaper for mankind. To rail against that is ignorantly to rail against civilization itself.

Of course, prices can fall from other causes, such as arbitrary disturbances of economic conditions. That is an uneconomic fall, such for instance as took place immediately after the second election of Mr. Cleveland. That drop in prices was caused by commercial alarm created by a threatened new policy; and the fall was injurious, because it was not due to improved methods of production but to disturbed industrial confidence in the community. Such writers as Mr. George appear not to know the difference between these two kinds of price movements; one a destruction of values by arbitrary economic disturbance, the other a decline in prices through improved scientific methods.

For the acme of economic perversion and monetary fanaticism we commend this book. It is the least worth reading of anything we have seen on the subject.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

ECONOMIC AND SOCIOLOGICAL

Economics of Distribution. By John A. Hobson. 12mo. Cloth, \$1.75. T. Y. Crowell & Company, New York and Boston.

Aristocracy and Evolution. By W. H. Mallock. Cloth, 8vo, 385 pp. \$3.00. The Macmillan Company, New York and London. The sub-title of this work is: "A Study of the Rights, the Origin, and the Social Functions of the Wealthier Classes." It may be described briefly as an exposition of the theory of *minority leadership* as the necessary condition of social progress.

HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE

Contemporary History (1848-1899). By E. A. Grosvenor, Professor of European History in Amherst College. With colored maps. 12mo. Cloth, \$1.00. T. Y. Crowell & Company, New York and Boston.

A Prisoner of the Khaleefa; Twelve Years Captivity at Omdurman. By Charles Neufeld. Intensely interesting, and an insight-giver in Egyptian affairs. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

BENJAMIN H. SANBORN & CO., BOSTON

Burke's Speech on Conciliation with America. No. 2 in Cambridge Literature Series. Paper covers, 150 pp. 18 cents. With annotations and frontispiece portrait of Burke.

Tennyson's Princess. No. 3 in Cambridge Literature Series. Paper covers, 191 pp. 24 cents. With annotations and frontispiece portrait of Tennyson.

THE BEST IN SEPTEMBER MAGAZINES

The *New England Magazine* opens with a frontispiece of Bishop Berkeley, and contains an illustrated article on "Bishop Berkeley in New England" by Charles Rawson Thurston. There is an article on "The Massachusetts Slave Trade" by Lilian Brandt, and an illustrated description of Quebec by George Stewart.

A character sketch of Admiral Sampson, by Ray Stannard Baker, forms the opening article in *McClure's*. It is illustrated, and the frontispiece of the magazine is a portrait of the Admiral. Cleveland Moffett contributes an article on the Abyssinian King "Menelik and his People."

Charles Kendall Adams opens the *Atlantic Monthly* with a comprehensive philosophical article on "Irresistable Tendencies." Kropotkin's "Autobiography of a Revolutionist" reaches its eleventh installment, and among other well-known contributors are John Burroughs, Edward Waldo Emerson, Jacob A. Riis and J. T. Trowbridge.

Scribner's contains an article discussing political and social topics, entitled "To a Political Optimist," by Judge Robert Grant, being the last in his series of "Search-light Letters." There is also a description of the life of Robert Louis Stevenson at Saranac Lake, in the Adirondacks, during the winter of 1888.

Recent issues of *Lippincott's* show marked improvements in the make-up and quality of the magazine, justifying its self-applied description—"The New Lippincott's." Among its September articles are "Effect of Equal Suffrage in Colorado" by Virginia G. Ellard, and an historical paper entitled "The Effrontery of Paul Jones," by George Gibbs.

The *Chautauquan* has a translated French article on "Social Progress in France."



CORNELIUS VANDERBILT

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

Awaiting Admiral Dewey New York's reception to Admiral Dewey on September 29th and 30th promises to be one of the greatest occasions in the history of the metropolis. It will not be a local affair. New York will stand for the nation. The magnificence of the welcome will voice the nation's appreciation of a man whose qualities, not only as a brilliant fighter but as an exceptionally able administrator and typical level-headed American, place him in the category of the nation's really great men. Preparations are going ahead on an elaborate scale, and the hotels are already overflowing with guests.

The Philippine Situation It is sincerely to be hoped that Admiral Dewey, after formally reporting at Washington, will make public some practical suggestions on the Philippine situation. Undoubtedly he favors retaining the islands, but there is good ground for believing that he understands the Filipino character and the right way of dealing with them better than anybody now on the field of action. It is possible that had he been in entire control, the rupture of last winter might have been avoided. For several months the situation there has remained practically unchanged, neither side gaining an advantage. Twenty regiments of volunteers are being recruited in this country, and it is Secretary Root's ambition to have them in the Philippines before Christmas. President McKinley, in a speech at Ocean Grove early in September, finally made this definite statement of his policy:

"Peace first; then, with charity for all, establish a government of law and order, protecting life, property, and occupation, for the well-being of the people, a government in which they shall participate under the stars and stripes."

The first part of this is unexceptionable; the last gives no hint of future independence for the Philippines. These people will never satisfactorily participate in a government "under the stars and stripes;" the racial differences are too fundamental. It is almost impossible for the Anglo-Saxon to obtain the confidence and co-operation of the Oriental. Even those natives professedly friendly to us, whom we have established in local offices, are largely proving treacherous and many have been found to be secretly working with the insurgents. The formal reply of the Filipino congress to our offer of autonomy, lately received, further confirms this view. Of course, the reply is a declination; nevertheless, they say: "We could have accepted your sovereignty and autonomy if we had not seen by the behavior of the Americans in the beginning that they were strongly opposed to us, through race prejudice," etc., etc.

What to Do

President Schurman, of Cornell University, after reporting to the president on his work as chairman of the Philippine Commission, gave out an interview in which he declared that: "The educated Filipino is the equal of any other civilized man in the world." While holding, of course, that peace and order must first be restored at all events, he strongly urges that congress at the earliest moment adopt a definite plan of government with as large an element of home rule in it as possible; leading, as he puts it, to "an ever increasing measure of self-government." This is sound advice and heads the right way.

**Dreyfus's
Conviction
and Pardon**

Just as we go to press comes the news of the pardon of Captain Dreyfus, granted by President Loubet, September 19th.

Welcome as this is, it does not clear Dreyfus of the technical stigma of conviction, and his friends will spare no effort to have the Rennes verdict of September 9th quashed by the Court of Cassation, on the ground of failure to follow the lines of procedure prescribed by the Court. Certainly there is reason enough for quashing the verdict. The court martial was ordered to decide, not the authorship of the bordereau, but whether Dreyfus delivered documents containing military secrets to a foreign power. The only testimony within reach, bearing directly on this point, the court martial refused to hear. This was the testimony of Colonel Schwarzkoppen and Major Panizzardi, respectively the German and Italian military attachés at Paris at the time the famous bordereau was found. These officers could have proved that a military clique, with Major Esterhazy as the active agent, had been regularly selling army secrets for years, and that Dreyfus had nothing to do with it. Moreover, during the last few days of the trial, the court's suppression of M. Labori's cross-examinations became so grossly outrageous as to transform the whole proceeding into a simple farce. M. Demange's eloquent plea, riddling the flimsy and ridiculous case against Dreyfus, produced no effect whatever. The court promptly declared the prisoner guilty and condemned him to ten years' imprisonment in a military fortress. The vote was five to two. Doubtless it was all settled before the first session of the court martial. The judges did not dare acquit the prisoner. They were practically terrorized by their own superior officers,—the army generals who have been hounding Dreyfus to save their own heads ever since the discovery of the bordereau in 1894.

The pardon points to an impending break between the French civil and military authorities. It practically declares the belief of the president and cabinet in Dreyfus's innocence—a theory which irresistibly implies that it is the army generals themselves who have been guilty of treason, with perjury and conspiracy added. If the rupture comes, all the moral forces of civilization will be with the president. He will personify the salvation of France; if salvation is yet possible.

The Case in South Africa "War in the Transvaal within forty-eight hours" has been falsely predicted so often that is hard to realize how acute the crisis has now really become. Within the last few weeks England has been despatching troops to South Africa and making hurried preparations for an outbreak of hostilities, while the Transvaal has been importing munitions of war and strengthening fortifications.

The root of the difficulty is this. Living in the South African Republic there are about two hundred thousand Englishmen, practically deprived of any voice in the government or share in its benefits, although subjected to heavy taxation. The "Boers" are far less numerous, and are an unprogressive, uneducated, agricultural and herding people. Technically, they may be standing on their national rights in striving to keep absolute control of the government. Morally, their attitude is intolerable and prevents the advance of civilization in a part of Africa where the opportunities for civilization are at present most inviting. The Boer legislature is divided into two chambers. The second chamber is of little importance; it controls only a few minor matters. The first chamber is all-powerful; it even overthrows decisions of the courts by mere majority resolution. Aside from the native burghers, only such naturalized aliens as have resided

fourteen years in the country—twelve since naturalization—may sit in or vote for members of the first chamber, and then only by special permission given by a two-thirds vote of the chamber. Native born children of aliens may be naturalized at eighteen years of age, but cannot acquire the franchise until they are forty. Ninety per cent. of the business in the Transvaal is conducted in the English language, yet High Dutch is the only official language recognized in government affairs. Catholics and Jews are debarred from government offices. Education is grossly neglected. The dynamite trade and railroad service are state-granted monopolies, and represent a tax of nearly five million dollars per annum almost exclusively on the foreigners, who are mostly miners. All attempts at redress, petitions, formation of grievance societies, are summarily suppressed.

Failure of Negotiations The British government has constantly protested and negotiated in behalf of these luckless "Outlanders." Finally, late in May of this year, a conference was held between President Kruger and Sir Alfred Milner, at Bloemfontein. Sir Alfred proposed that aliens intending to live permanently in the Transvaal, bearing good characters, willing to share in the military service, and possessing a certain amount of property, should be admitted to citizenship after five years' residence. Since this did not include transient miners, the English citizens would not, at least for a long time to come, have outnumbered the native Boers, and at any rate the great gold-field section was to have only one-fifth of the total membership of the Raad. After this conference the Transvaal Raad enacted a seven-years' franchise law, hedged about with many qualifying and complicating conditions. This has been the subject of incessant diplomatic correspondence

between the two governments ever since. President Kruger's position is like that of the last man on the double corner of a checker-board. He alternately proposes to grant a five-year franchise if England will recognize the Transvaal's entire independence, or else the seven-year franchise, waiving the question of British suzerainty. Neither combination of propositions, as he well knows, will ever be accepted. As Mr. Chamberlain, the British Colonial Secretary, put it: "He dribbles each reply like water from a squeezed sponge." The last reply of the Boers is of the same dilly-dallying nature, and an ultimatum from Great Britain is now looked for before many days.

Prosperity at Home There are no signs of any slackening in the flood of business prosperity. Failures are notably fewer than last year at this time, manufacturing industries are all humming, the railroads are taxed to the utmost, and, according to the Secretary of Agriculture, the farming interests throughout the country "are to-day in as prosperous a condition as could reasonably be desired. The crops in the Mississippi Valley are the heaviest ever grown there. Kansas will produce 400,000,000 bushels of corn. Nebraska's yield is estimated at 360,000,000 bushels. . .

. . . This prosperity in agriculture has come to stay. It is based upon conditions of permanent success in the operation of farms, and upon economic laws regulating prices of farm products."

Labor's Share Last month we recorded wage increases affecting literally hundreds of thousands of employees, particularly in the iron and steel, iron mining, textile, tin plate and other industries. Since then a notable rise has taken place in the pay of employees on the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad system; ranging from \$20.00 per

month for freight conductors and \$13.00 for passenger, to \$15.00 for freight brakemen and \$10.00 for passenger trainmen. In New York City the entire carpenter trade is on the eve of securing a blanket increase in daily wages from \$3.50 to \$4.00, with a Saturday half holiday the year round. More than seventy important firms have already conceded these demands.

Chicago Trust Conference The much talked-of conference under the auspices of the Civic Federation, to discuss the trust situation, came off according to schedule, September 13th to 16th inclusive, and was a success. About two hundred delegates from all parts of the country were in attendance at Chicago; including several state governors, many attorneys general, congressmen, economists, representatives of labor, farming, industrial, trade and social reform organizations. Among the best known of those who addressed the convention were Professors H. C. Adams of the University of Michigan, John Graham Brooks, formerly of Harvard, and John B. Clark of Columbia; Governor Pingree of Michigan, Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, William Jennings Bryan and W. Bourke Cockran. The closing speeches of Mr. Bryan and Mr. Cockran took on quite the nature of a joint debate, in which the honors may fairly be said to have rested with the New Yorker, since no reply was forthcoming to his categorical demands for some real evidence of the list of giant evils attributed to trusts in Mr. Bryan's highly denunciatory address. The conference was significant in showing that the trust movement has at least obtained a standing in court, and can be discussed with some degree of economic fairness instead of mere billingsgate. Indeed, the speakers at the Chicago conference who upheld the general idea of the trust included some of the ablest and fairest thinkers in all walks of life, educational, busi-

ness and professional, quite beyond the suspicion of special pleading. We shall probably discuss the work of the conference and its influence at some later date.

**McKane
and Political
Reform**

The death of John Y. McKane cannot but remind New Yorkers, and for that matter the country, of the progress that has been made in electoral reform in the brief space of five years. McKane paid the penalty to the full, but the fact remains that for unblushing defiance of law and a pure ballot the performances in Gravesend during the campaign and election of 1894 would have been a discredit to South Carolina or Alabama. The public indignation this experience aroused, the punishment of the offenders, and enactment of reform ballot laws have made anything of the sort in the future an impossibility. Indeed, the improvement in the electoral conditions in New York City and state is so marked that it seems almost incredible that less than a decade has elapsed since the era of systematic ballot-box stuffing, unblushing alteration of election returns, and the Gravesend outrages. And yet, all this somehow escapes the pessimists who believe that democratic government in this country is going to smash.

**Political
Affairs**

The political situation is taking shape. Democratic policy, following the lead of Mr. Bryan himself, is leaning towards making opposition to trusts and expansion the chief issues next year, with silver a secondary though not abandoned feature. On the other hand, two republican conventions, in Ohio and Pennsylvania, have declared in favor of retaining the Philippines and the general theory of expansion. In Missouri, the campaign for election of a successor to the late Congressman Bland was fought solely on the expansion issue, and resulted in an increased democratic victory; but it is rather doubtful if a democratic

victory anywhere in the South can be taken as indicating any new trend of public opinion. The Ohio democrats, on August 30th, named John R. McLean, theoretically of Cincinnati but actually of Washington, D. C., for governor on a strong 16-to-1 platform;—a discreditable nomination on personal grounds, and one which has aroused a formidable revolt in his own party throughout the state. Nevertheless, it could be wished that the gold standard platform of the republicans embodied declarations of policy such as these, which are the redeeming features of their opponents' program: "We demand that the Cubans and Filipinos not only be permitted but encouraged to establish independent republics We favor . . . the passage of the eight-hour labor law, the more rigid inspection of mines and workshops, the prohibition of sweatshops, and the abolition of the contract system of prison labor".

Mazet Committee and Ramapo Affair The Mazet Investigating Committee, which has resumed its sessions in New York City, is investigating the proposed contract of the city with the Ramapo Water Company, to furnish 200,000,000 gallons of water per day for forty years, at \$5,000,000 per year or \$200,000,000 for the entire period. The proposition aroused intense public opposition, and, when the final vote was taken by the Board of Public Improvements on confirmation of the contract, it was defeated. The foes of the scheme have since been carrying the war into Africa by trying, and with fair prospects of success, to have the Ramapo Company's charter annulled. Credit for the defeat of this scheme belongs chiefly to Controller Coler, who led the fight against it.

Since the water supply of New York and Brooklyn now costs less than \$60 per million gallons, while the proposed Ramapo contract involves a cost of \$70 per million

gallons; considering, also, that a great quantity of Croton water is going to waste, and that the Croton supply could probably be increased one-half to two-thirds by diverting the waters of Ten Mile River, in the Harlem Valley, the Ramapo proposition becomes wholly indefensible. Indeed, the Mazet investigation, so far, shows such a carelessness in drawing the contracts, and childlike ignorance of what guarantees and conditions the city would be able to enforce, that the whole affair takes on a highly doubtful and suspicious aspect. Whether a corrupt job or not, however, it is most gratifying that the scheme has been defeated, because the city ought not to get its water supply by private contract at all. It should be a matter of municipal ownership, pure and simple.

Judge Hilton an Object-Lesson Ex-Judge Henry Hilton, who died on August 24th, is an object-lesson on one side of the economic law of which the late Cornelius Vanderbilt exemplified the other side. Whatever his personal characteristics, Judge Hilton was never intended for a captain of industry. The vast business turned into his hands by A. T. Stewart went to ruin; now, under a restoration of individual commercial genius, it has again become an enormously profitable enterprise. Nothing could more clearly show the dependence of great business interests upon the very highest order of individual, specialized capacity, energy and fitness, evolved in the hard school of natural selection. Judge Hilton was evidently a man of some political popularity; probably as good a type as could ever hope to be elected to take charge of any industrial enterprise, under a socialistic rearrangement of society. His failure is but an example of the waste and social bankruptcy that would result from transferring the selection of managers of industry from a natural economic basis to the field of political manoeuvering.

CORNELIUS VANDERBILT

In all ordinary experience, if the biographer of a prominent man were to say that his death, in the prime of life, inflicted no serious loss upon the community, it would be considered a severe depreciation of his character and influence. A man of powerful and sustained creative force, applied along nature's lines of human progress, cannot suddenly drop out of it all and leave no void, no dragging back on the rope.

Nevertheless, there are cases in which and a sense in which such a comment is the highest and finest tribute that can be offered. It is perhaps the highest and finest praise that can be uttered of Cornelius Vanderbilt. His work and influence live after him, permanent contributions to the complex aggregate of American life. In the higher psychological sense, he was a creative force. Of course, he doubled a great fortune,—but others have done as much, and thousands have built up great fortunes from the bottom, starting empty-handed. Feats like this are becoming commonplace. Mr. Vanderbilt's distinction is not that he was merely a money-maker; it lies in the fact that he really created, by the quality of his own career, a new type in American economic and social life,—the *ideal* industrial millionaire.

He was a man whom great wealth and great responsibilities did not convert into a one-function machine. Captain of industry, fortune builder, financier, administrator, Mr. Vanderbilt was first of all a *man*. He never narrowed or atrophied on any side, never drifted away from warm human sympathies, never permitted the weight of wealth and power to drag him down from an inwrought modest dignity to cheap and overbearing egotism. He was rounded-out, balanced, a just man.

There have been and are others of large wealth, like him in personal qualities also, but this example of extraordinary fortune and sterling worth of character in combination puts Cornelius Vanderbilt in the foreground as the symbol of a type that is to become a larger and larger feature of American life. The era of the brute in the money-box is passing. Wherever it has appeared or yet appears in industrial affairs, it belongs to the animal epoch. Evolution is refining it away; manhood is reasserting itself. Such a life as that of Cornelius Vanderbilt sets a new standard for the testing of millionaires. None who falls below it can hereafter stand high in public estimation or fully justify himself to his times.

The strength of Mr. Vanderbilt's life, then, was not so much in what he did as in what he was. Not in any series of brilliant achievements, but in the sum total of his influence and example for his group. This is why nearly all of what we identify with the man remains in full, even intensified, force when the individual himself is gone. Society never loses an atom of the sort of contribution made by this stamp of man. It is a permanent fund, augmenting at compound interest. Whatever the vocation, there can be no higher praise of a life.

To say all this implies no extravagant or overstrained estimate of Mr. Vanderbilt. In the ordinary meaning of the word he was not a great man. He took little part in public affairs; was no statesman. He could always be counted upon to take his stand on the sound, wholesome side of great questions, but his views, if noteworthy at all, were never urged upon the public. He did not have to make his way wholly unaided. He inherited great wealth, and his opportunities were unlimited.

What is there, then, in a career that touches the

commonplace at so many points to attract such minute and widespread attention? It is the manner in which he rose to great opportunities, and, in spite of the temptation to selfish idleness, accepted to the full all the ordinary responsibilities, duties, vexations and weariness of a working life, dedicating the surplus of his energy to conscientious use of wealth for the welfare of others.

Long before he came to his fortune he put on the harness, served in ordinary clerkships, felt and understood the wage-earner's side of life. This experience both laid the foundation for his masterly handling of great affairs later on, and developed a strong manhood sympathy which he never lost. He accepted philanthropy as a welcome obligation of wealth, and sought to discharge it intelligently. He made few great donations which would specifically perpetuate his name; most of his gifts were impersonal, and quietly conveyed through intermediaries. For this reason the public has no conception of the wide extent of his generosity, embracing educational institutions, hospitals, churches, Young Men's Christian Association work, children's vacation funds, and hundreds of individual cases within the range of his personal knowledge.

The beautiful Y. M. C. A. building at Madison Avenue and Forty-fifth Street was his personal gift to railroad men. It was and is appreciated by them. As a class the employees of the Central and associated systems held him in sincere regard and confidence. Although perhaps not one of them in five hundred ever saw Mr. Vanderbilt or had any idea of ever approaching him with a grievance or petition, yet, from the known spirit and attitude of the man, the atmosphere of his life, he was felt in some subtle sense to be an ultimate "friend in reserve" by every man working

along the road or under the roof of the great station whose flags lately have been flying at half-mast.

Mr. Vanderbilt was not an originator of daring, untried experiments; he was not fond of radical steps. His temperament was conservative. He was the steady balance wheel. He labored for solid, substantial growth. Natural, well-ordered, permanent expansion appealed to his sense of the fitness of things, in business policy. Such a man would build a pyramid to outlast the centuries, but never an airship or a racing yacht. To-day conditions are ripe for more radical action than he perhaps could well have inaugurated,—great consolidations, and unification of methods. But there is no denying that during the period of Mr. Vanderbilt's active life the properties he administered demanded exactly the sort of development he gave. The time had not come for consolidation of the Vanderbilt lines. Each system needed separate local development, larger popular confidence, greater assured patronage, more harmonious relations both with connecting and competing roads, and a gradual bringing up of equipment and methods to the best modern standards. Here Mr. Vanderbilt was at home, and his powerful influence told. That epoch and the man came to a close together. He leaves now to the daring organizers of a new era, joiners of parts, fitters of the capstone, a series of railroad properties ranking among the best in the United States; indeed, in some respects the finest in the world.

Some have even declared that Mr. Vanderbilt was personally indispensable in bringing about these results. Whether so or not, without the sort of policy he exemplified we should not be to-day on the eve of a vast integration soon to give us a system operating under one management from the Atlantic to the Pacific, carrying a generous percentage of the traffic of

a continent, and forming a notable link in the hitherto loosely connected transportation chain around the globe.

A man's death invites attention to his life; Mr. Vanderbilt's asks attention also to certain vital matters which such a life inevitably suggests. It is a good time for the people of this country to stop and consider them. American industrial institutions are passing through a grave crisis. Prosperity abounds, but underneath is a gulf of class suspicion, prejudice and latent passion. Overhead, almost by a hair, hangs the sword of possible social revolution. The capitalist, the millionaire, is regarded almost as a public enemy. He represents to the popular mind a conspiracy of wealth, devoted to greedy extortion. Regardless of personal merits, often conceded, he stands nevertheless as the favorite of a system which allows stealthy plunder of society. He fattens at the expense of the masses. This idea has become a conviction; it did not exist in this country a century ago. Some malign influence has crept in, so it is believed, and converted the possession of great wealth from a personal honor into a social crime. The feeling about it is something new in American life, and it is full of gravest peril.

Concrete examples are generally more effective than any argument, however acute, in making general laws intelligible. Individuals are comprehensible when principles are obscure. History is best understood when taught as a biography of men and women.

Such being the case, take Cornelius Vanderbilt as a typical product of certain tendencies in our national life most bitterly complained of. Leave out of consideration any extraordinary merit on the personal and humane side,—it may be true that in these respects his imitators among millionaires are not legion. Consider him simply as we would consider any one of ten thousand others—an industrial factor and an ordinary citizen

and a man. What was he? Simply an able administrator of vast quasi-public properties, which would have remained essentially the same in character whoever owned them. From the standpoint of public interest and welfare in the situation, the fact that Mr. Vanderbilt instead of the government held the title simply meant that these properties were provided, by natural selection, with the ablest management they could have had. His wealth did not represent so many mountains of luxuries. It was permanent, irrecoverable real property, constantly doing a public service; worthless if ever it ceased performing that service, valuable in proportion as it performed it well and cheaply.

Suppose all this had been transferred to the state. Would there have been any per capita division of the Vanderbilt wealth, as the envious and simple-minded imagine? Not unless the railroads themselves had been torn up and the old iron parceled out! Division of the surplus income actually consumed by Mr. Vanderbilt would have reduced it to insignificant atoms. Most of the regular income from all large properties is of necessity reinvested all the time in new lines of productive industry, and becomes a straight contribution to the growth of public welfare and prosperity. In no other way does the community's wealth materially increase.

Could any state official have managed interests of such magnitude with greater ability, faithfulness and integrity? Could any state official, in justice, have been paid for such quality of service less than Cornelius Vanderbilt retained and used? Could any less inducement, indeed, have called out equal ability or inspired such sense of personal responsibility?

Mr Vanderbilt was a public servant, evolved not by political caucus but by nature's own infallible selection. He survived by fitness, and with him the wealth he administered. His reward was not dispropor-

tionate. In no solitary particular, from the sole viewpoint of public welfare, could a socialistic rearrangement have improved the status and public usefulness of these properties, or his relation to them.

As a man, he was in many respects unique. As an industrial factor, there are thousands like him, voluntarily surrendering leisure and health to the fascinations or conscientiously assumed labors of great enterprises, involving their own fortunes and moral responsibility for others' investments.

But, however envy or prejudice may rail against the less deserving of his class, let no voice of obloquy be raised here. It will find no mark, until it returns upon the utterer. Mr Vanderbilt's life is a clean white page, open to the world. He demonstrated that great personal wealth can exist in perfect harmony with simple morality, sympathetic manliness, and the innate spirit of American democratic institutions. This is the standard he set, and it remains.

THE PLIGHT OF FINLAND

JULIUS MORITZEN

When the proper time arrives, to be more than merely historically accurate the truth-dealing biographer of Nicholas II. will find himself confronted by a task demanding a knowledge of men and events but rarely exacted of historians. The career of Nicholas II. has already given birth to so many diversifying issues that the apparently peace-loving czar finds himself placed in the position of an anachronism. The history of the next ten years, however, will beyond question form the basis for the material to be employed by his biographers. Whatever the point of view, whether chronicled by Muscovite, French or English pens, the decade which began with the invitation to the peace conference at the Hague, the period which finds Finland deprived of its ancient privileges as a dependency of Russia, will form so momentous a chapter in the life of Nicholas II. as alone to stand for the record of political events in Europe and Asia.

Apart from the merit of the conference which owed its existence to the inspiration of the czar, the grievance of the Finns comes at a time when it were impossible to treat of the subject without some reference to the disarmament scheme. Whether the czar is himself responsible for the decrees which have thrown Finland into mourning, or whether other influences are to blame, the imperial edict which is to increase the Finnish army from 5,600 men to a strength of 36,000 certainly leaves a field ripe for speculation. The peace proposals came during August of the past year. Two months later the command for the new Finnish army bill went forth. Mutually antagonistic, the military order absolutely contradicts the peace messenger. The incident is the base for charges of insincerity lodged against Nicholas.

The importance which attaches to the Finnish situation should not be underestimated. The process of Russification is doing its work with relentless persistency. The spirit of authority which has characterized the Russian since he first awoke to the realization that he stood a power in the world; the respect with which all things emanating from St. Petersburg are listened to, may well cause anxiety. But, that Nicholas II. is not himself to blame for much that he unquestionably would have otherwise, there can be no doubt. An autocrat, still his signature to a document is not always of his own making. But there certainly does exist a condition of incongruity when measures so dissimilar as a disarmament scheme and an edict for an army increase are promulgated almost simultaneously.

The religion of Finland is Lutheran Protestantism. With the practical abrogation of the country's constitution and laws, the religious tolerance, which has been one of the prerogatives of the duchy, will suffer some curtailment. Already all public officers must be sworn according to the rites of the Russian Orthodox Church. The Russian language is likewise the only official and legal language tolerated.

In dealing with a subject no less significant than the disintegration of Poland in its time, the relationship of Finland and Russia must be traced to its inception. When Finland became part of the czar's domain it was under the strongest and most explicit guarantees of the maintenance of its constitutional liberties. The name of the country was to remain unchanged, and the title of its ruler was to be not czar, but, as of old, grand-duke of Finland. It was to have its own constitution, laws, parliament, flag, currency, postage stamps, language, religion. All that is now to be changed. In the eyes of Russia, Finland is no longer a state, but a province. The czar will rule the Finns as emperor of

all the Russias, having removed from his array of dignities the title of grand-duke.

No Russian could hold office in Finland except by becoming a citizen of the country, but the government of Russia has already substituted Russians for natives as postmasters, and the other offices will be gradually equipped similarly. It was one of the reasons why nihilism never flourished in Finland that the people have been permitted to keep their religion, their language and their customs. Whether the policy of Russification will bring a change on this score is something yet to be learned. The church and the state are closely concerned in the Russianizing process now going on. Whether the czar has knowingly broken faith with his subjects, or whether the coup d'etat was accomplished through methods other than those for which he stands immediately responsible, but few can tell. Among the friends of Finland in England the opinion prevails that unwittingly Nicholas II. was made the instrument of others. This side the Atlantic public utterances have been somewhat more pronounced in the assertion that the czar of Russia should be judged by his actions and not by his intentions. That Nicholas II. so far has shown himself possessed of humane principles the recent report touching the abolition of Siberia as a penal colony is evidence. But the religious question, the supremacy of the Church, which all the Romanoffs have fostered with an intensity little short of aggression, the hope and aspiration of the Russian emperor to make the Greek Orthodox Church the religion of the future, make the bond between czar and Metropolitan so close that, while Nicholas the Man might wish a leniency, Nicholas II. perforce deems the opposite essential. The edict against the Jews is but another form of Russification.

Granted that for the present the Finns will be allowed

to worship according to their dictates, and that the ukase so far only concerns those in official positions, the name of General Alexei Nicholaievitch Kuropatkin suggests itself at once. As the czar's minister of war, to him more than to any other single individual is due the change in the military laws of Finland. The most faithful, the most trusted and the most powerful servant of his master, he has distinguished himself in the arena of science, literature and warfare. His strategy is noticeable in every move making for the homogeny of the diversifying elements in the Russian empire. Kuropatkin is beyond doubt the power behind the throne, and is the man with whom the Finns will principally have to deal.

The independence of Finland ceased in the twelfth century. One of a group of grand duchies, it was conquered by Sweden; but there were no changes made in the local customs. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the country passed alternately from Sweden to Russia, but in September, 1809, Finland was finally ceded to Russia, and Czar Alexander I. took the oath to the then existing constitution. A clause in the constitution says: "The Emperor -Grand-Duke does not own the right to create any laws, or revoke any existing laws without the unanimous consent of the Parliament assembled." The constitution of Finland was the identical one promulgated in 1772 by Gustaf III.; but by the cession the Russian emperor became the hereditary grand-duke of the grand-duchy of Finland. The country had a parliament made up of the four estates, the nobility, the clergy, the citizens and the farmers. The official languages were Finnish and Swedish, and while the state religion was Lutheran Protestant there was entire religious liberty.

The army of Finland was commanded by native officers and the constitution says expressively that this

army could not without its free will and without the full consent of parliament be taken outside the country to serve in any part of the empire; with one exception, the Life Guard. The soldiers in immediate attention upon the person of the czar are drawn from Finland, and it is a sign of the successive rulers' faith in Finnish fidelity that the Land of the Thousand Lakes has had this distinction since Alexander I. first took charge of its destiny.

The government of Finland consisted of a governor-general, appointed by the czar-grand-duke, a parliament, and a council of senators which formed the cabinet of the grand-duke. The country was in complete control of its railroads, the postal service and the mint. Finnish money was the currency of the realm.

It is true that on April 15th, 1869, Czar Alexander II. signed and approved an amendment to the country's constitution that "the constitution can be amended, changed, and revoked only upon a proposition made by the grand-duke and with the full consent of all the estates in parliament assembled," and that "though reserving for us the power, as stated in the governing act of the 21st of August, 1772, together with the union and safety acts of the 21st of February and the 3d of April, 1789, providing in the former mentioned acts is nothing to the contrary, we do and declare this amendment to be constitutional and part of the constitution existing." There is a suspicion that by this action the parliament virtually brought itself one step nearer to subjection, but the amendment was only intended to bind still closer the bond which then existed between the Finns and their czar-grand-duke.

On November 6th, 1896, at Livadia, Czar Nicholas II. delivered himself of the following oath: "As we, through the power of Almighty God, have come to the

inherited power of Finland, as grand-duke, it is our desire herewith to sanction and respect the religion, constitution, rights and privileges of all classes in Finland, the high and the low, and we promise to respect and keep them inviolate and in their full power."

The step which brought about a change in the constitution was taken during January of last year, when Nicholas appointed a secret conference. Present were Grand-Duke Michael, who presided; Procurator Pobiedonosestseff, General Bobrikoff, the Governor-General of Finland; Muravieff, Minister of Justice; Procope, the temporary Minister-Secretary of Finland; Plelive, Secretary of State; and Solisky, Ostroffski and Frish. All were Russians and Imperialists of the most pronounced types. During January and the following month several sessions were held, the new laws for the grand-duchy were proposed, and on February 17th the czar sanctioned and promulgated the propositions as laws. It is now Emperor Nicholas of Finland and no longer the grand-duke.

To the emperors of Russia Finland has always held out special attractions. The culture of the Finns and their fidelity endeared the people to Alexander III. Perhaps, had it been Alexander, he would not have sent back to their homes the delegation of Finns who went to St. Petersburg not long ago to gain the imperial hearing. A better answer than what the Finns received from the Russian officials would assuredly have been theirs. A petition had been signed by almost ninety per cent. of the entire population. The deputation which had mustered up courage to attempt a presentation of their grievances to their ruler at St. Petersburg consisted of clergymen, physicians, artists, lawyers' merchants; men prominent in their respective walks of life. But on reaching the Russian capital word went forth that Czar Nicholas could not see the petitioners.

To the Finns this latest blow appeared in the nature of a national calamity. Helsingfors was wrapped in mourning. The newspapers published editions bordered with black; the theatres were closed; public amusements in general were declared out of place. The imperial ear being deaf, it now occurred to the Finnlancers that the outside world might be of assistance. But when, on June 26, there met in St. Petersburg prominent men chosen from among every nation of western Europe to plead Finland's cause with the czar, no better luck attended this delegation, and persons like Trarieux of France and Professor Westlake of England had to consider the cause futile.

The position of the Finnish diet is anomalous. When the matter was brought up in the legislature, ten of the twenty members accepted the czar's manifesto. The other ten held aloof, but the president of the session gave the casting vote in favor of Russia.

General Brobikoff, the new governor-general of Finland, has notified the Finnish diet to send orders to all ministers of the gospel throughout Finland forbidding them to criticise the imperial ukase. The edict now makes the Russian language obligatory in the University of Helsingfors and in the schools in the provinces, and many of the Swedish professors at the university have been replaced by Russians. The percentage of educated people in the country is very high, only one per cent. being illiterates as against 87 per cent. among the Russians in Russia. Their industrial, social and political capacity is conspicuous. Whether the new order, which calls for thirty-five per cent. of the young men to enter the army, instead of ten per cent. as before, will allow this high mark to continue is left for futurity to show. The conscription will be for five years' service, and the army is liable to seven years more. The soldiers can now be sent to any part of the

Russian empire, and Finland's military contribution to the czar will be 10,000,000 marks.

The Russian censorship permits of but slight protest in the press of the country, and the chief organs of the Finns at Helsingfors have been suspended from time to time. Scandinavians to the core, small wonder that throughout the countries of the North sympathy lies entirely in the direction of the people who with Denmark, Sweden and Norway share religion and sentiments. The Swedish press, unhampered by the censorship of Russia, called upon the government to abstain from taking part in the disarmament scheme, even. In Norway, likewise, public opinion comes to the assistance of the Finns.

The total population of Finland by the last census (1896) was 2,520,000. Of this number 2,170,000 were native Finns; 340,000 were Swedes resident in Finland; 7,000 were Russians and 1,200 were Laplanders residing in the northern part of the country. There has been a steady increase in population of late years because there is practically no emigration. Finland, besides, is one of the few European countries where the birth rate is markedly higher than the death rate. Reports now have it that arrangements are being made on an extensive plan for the emigration of young men who desire to escape the conscription law, and the Finns resident in this country are said to encourage this move. There are in America, including Canada, about 250,000 Finns, and in the middle West, so thickly populated by Scandinavians, the Finnish people have shown themselves capable agriculturists. It is worthy of note that during the several famines of which Russia has been the victim Finland always remained exempt. During such visitations they would always come to the aid of the unfortunates with whom they shared ruler. As immigrants they will have in their favor strong bodies,

pluck and money. This country during the past few months has witnessed mass meetings of Finnish-Americans presided over and attended by some of the most prominent people in the United States, and here has been told the story touching the grievances of the Finns. In New York city, in Chicago, in the western cities especially where the qualities of the Scandinavian are fully understood and valued, the sentiment of those not of the race and conditions was unanimously in the direction that the Finn was an individual with a grievance indeed. In Chicago, the Swedish-American Association joined with the Finnish-American Association in an appeal to the American people. In a statement issued it is claimed that a committee of influential members of the British Parliament have taken up the cause of Finland in the United Kingdom. On the score of religion it was asked that while the peace conference was still fresh in the minds of the multitude the hour for concerted action was ripe. The Finnish-American clergy, which wields a strong influence over its people, has taken up the subject. From pulpit and platform they have addressed themselves to the spirit of liberty inherent in the American character. The Armenian outrages have been brought into comparison, the fate of Spain in Cuba has furnished topic for eloquence, the whole history of oppression has been passed in review by those capable of presenting the Finnish situation intelligently.

Undue significance is, perhaps, attached to the advent at Washington of Count Cassini, unquestionably one of the foremost of the Russian diplomats. Experienced in dealing with intricate problems, to Count Cassini, may be, has been entrusted the task of bringing into closer bonds of sympathy the peoples of this country and the Russias. Whether for the purpose of counteracting the growing spirit of amalgamation evinced by

the Anglo-Saxon race, the Russian ambassador at Washington can himself alone answer; but that his mission to this country in no wise concerns the Finnish problem may be assured.

It is not without interest to hear what Russia has to say as regards the situation. It is pertinent to the question to know that one reason assigned for the change lies in the desire to make the elements of Russia homogeneous. This anticipated unification is made essential for reasons entirely military, say the Russian diplomats. It is averred that not long since a sham battle in which Finnish and Russian troops participated near St. Petersburg would have brought destruction to the soldiers in case it had been actual warfare; for, as the Finns did not understand Russian, complications arose when commands were issued by the officers in charge of brigades. The first step to be taken, it was suggested, should be the teaching of Russian in the schools of Finland.

From the Muscovite point of view nothing seemed more plausible, but the Finns pointed to their constitution. Where it was stated expressively that the army could not be taken out of the country without the consent of the people, what need, asked the Finns, for the soldiery to understand any other language than their own. And from the Finnish view point, undoubtedly, the Finns were right. But with Russia it is above all action that counts. When the Finns showed a disposition to resent the ukase the new governor-general was immediately invested with complete authority, and, while General Bobrikoff has proceeded cautiously enough, his method of restoring order in the distressed country has been along the lines marked out by the commands which issue from the Palace on the Neva. Directly, therefore, Czar Nicholas is by the Finns held responsible for their fate.

Whether or no the anticipated Finnish emigration will materially swell the contingent already in the United States, the immigration offices on the Atlantic seaboard report an increasing number of this nationality with each incoming vessel from Baltic ports. Canada appears to be looked upon with especial favor. The 20,000 Finnish-Canadians have extended hearty invitations to their brethren abroad.

That nothing is to be expected from the Russian government, the greater part of the informed Finns are reluctantly becoming convinced. Once launched on its Russification of a province the characteristics of the Slav will bear no contradiction. The Prussianizing of Sleschwig-Holstein and the process which is making itself felt in Alsace-Lorraine differ but slightly from the methods employed by Russia in her desire to make her provinces homogeneous with the empire proper. Language is the principal step. As for religious tenets, what may be done in Russia would be found inapplicable anywhere else.

Viewed in all calmness, therefore, in the Finnish agitation there is nothing to impair the public peace. It may seem unfortunate for the Finns that a nation which can rightfully claim its title to aristocracy among peoples should be compelled to bow down before a power superior in force. The morale of the Finnish people should not suffer by this incident. Perhaps, inspired by the traditional fate of the smaller principalities, Finland may arise to other efforts than those purely national in tone. More than ever a part of the vast empire of the czar, though not in the sense which they would have it, the splendid physique and will-power of the Finn will assert themselves more strongly than ever in the direction of science and the arts. At Helsingfors, youths are growing into men who by force of the vitality inherent in the race must continue to

stand among the councils of enlightening minds. The woman of Finland it a mother in the truest sense. The Viking race has never deteriorated. Denmark has been made smaller only to appear greater. Sweden boasts a king who, while a descendant of Bernadotte, in the right moment caught the inspiration of the people he was set up to govern by virtue of his birth. The remarkable literature which Norway has given forth, the men of brawn and brain who farm the lands and write the poetry of their people, the spirit of erectness which has characterized the Scandinavians both at home and abroad, are the secrets of success which makes of small countries models to be copied by nations great in size.

If the question were asked of a Finn what he considered the proper method of government the reply would undoubtedly be that semi-independence, as before, is the only thing applicable. And yet, being a part of the Russian empire, the czar can scarcely be blamed for wanting to make Finland a closer unit of the vast expanse over which he holds the reins. Independent ideas seemed doomed to go down before this system of unification. The case of England in India is not a parallel one. Germany is as yet unfinished as concerns Alsace-Lorraine, it is true; but Russian methods are not the methods of the West. The Slav is not an Anglo-Saxon in his make-up. And the greater wonder it is that it has been left to as late a date as the present before a Russian ruler thought the moment ripe to make his grip firmer on Finland.

To strike for independence would avail Finland nothing now. The best she can do is to wait. Perhaps something may occur to recompense her for what she has had to sacrifice. At any rate, she has a past of which to feel justly proud. That prestige can never be taken from her, let the time to come bring what it may.

COMMERCIAL EMPIRE AND PROTECTION

HON. EDWARD N. DINGLEY

A writer in a recent number of the *Forum*, discussing the struggle for commercial empire, says:

"Old restrictions upon trade, and useless superstitions, must be abandoned in the contest for commercial supremacy. The policy of protection must be adapted by its friends to the new conditions, or it must be abandoned. Protection may be useful in stimulating infant industries; it becomes a relic of medievalism when it stimulates production which already has become excessive and which can find an outlet only in a field which protection cannot enter."

In other words it is argued that the policy of commercial empire in which this country has so recently embarked involves a radical modification if not a surrender of the protective policy. A brief examination of the facts in the case will show that this is not so. The wise and far-seeing founders of this republic, after throwing off the political yoke of England, took steps to throw off the commercial and industrial yoke. How? By establishing and maintaining a protective tariff. The result is known to all. At the close of the nineteenth century the United States stands supreme among the nations of the world. Our breadstuffs sustain the lives of millions in every clime; our iron enters into the construction of buildings in the far East; our steel carries the traffic of millions across the desert, the jungle, the prairie; our agricultural implements increase the producing capacity of the soil of the eastern hemisphere; our machinery hums beneath the tropical sun and beside the snow-capped mountains; our tools are in the hands of the artisans of every civilized nation; our locomotives haul the men and women and freight of all nations. Verily the nineteenth century has wrought wonders, but none greater than the commercial and industrial growth of the nation that laid its foundation on the rock

of liberty and protection one hundred and twenty-three years ago. As the nation in the course of unexpected events enters upon a new era, as we enter the struggle for commercial empire, the question arises, what must be the policy of the future? Must protection be abandoned to suit the new conditions?

It is a notable fact that the title of the first tariff bill under the federal constitution, framed by Madison and approved by Washington in 1789, was this: "For the support of the Government, for the discharge of debts of the United States, and for the protection and encouragement of manufactures." The title of the last tariff bill passed (the Dingley tariff bill of 1897) was this: "To provide revenue for the Government and to encourage the industries of the United States." I call attention to this simply to show that after a lapse of one hundred and eight years, during which time the nation entered upon and emerged from new eras, the two fundamental ideas underlying our fiscal policy remain the same—revenue, and encouragement of industries or manufactures. And as we enter upon another era, these two cardinal points must be kept clearly in the foreground. Tariff schedules may be and are changed from decade to decade, but the underlying principles remain. To abandon them would be suicidal.

The expenses of the national government before the war with Spain averaged about \$370,000,000 a year. During the last fiscal year its expenses approximated \$600,000,000. After the trouble in the Philippine Islands is over and peace is finally restored, the national expense will approximate \$500,000,000 annually. It will thus be seen that the question of revenue is a vital one. Experience shows that a protective tariff, properly adjusted, produces more revenue than a low or free trade tariff, for the reason that it tends to stimulate home industries, to give employment to and increase

the purchasing power of the people. The customs revenues under the Dingley tariff of 1897 were greater from July 1st, 1898 to July 1st, 1899, than under the Wilson tariff of 1894 from July 1st, 1895 to July 1st, 1897*.

Abandonment of protection, therefore, would be a loss of revenue when more revenue is needed.

June 19th, 1897, in a speech delivered in the national house of representatives, the late Congressman Dingley said :

"The fact is that revenue from duties on imports rises and falls with the consuming power or prosperity of the masses of the people, and it is for this reason that a protective tariff so framed as to encourage domestic production and manufacture, and consequently so as to increase the earning power of the masses, always affords the largest revenue, because it encourages a higher standard of living and a larger consumption of imported luxuries or articles of voluntary use, from which the revenue under a protective tariff is largely derived."

Experience shows this to be true; and the increase in the amount of wages paid American workmen since January 1st, 1898, is proof of the truth of the late Chairman Dingley's philosophy.

Linked with the question of revenue is the question of active and prosperous industries, good wages and a high standard of living. That nation is most prosperous whose people live on the highest social scale and whose ordinary consumption is the greatest. The standard of wages is higher in this country than in European and Asiatic countries because the masses live on a higher social plane. They demand and receive higher wages because their wants are greater, because they consume more of the necessities and luxuries of life than do the laboring masses of the other countries. A high consuming power among the people of any nation is the key to that nation's

*These are properly the two fiscal years to compare, both being free from the operations of the previous and succeeding acts.

prosperity. A policy that tends to cripple a nation's industries reduces the consuming power of its people and inevitably brings about industrial stagnation. The home market has always been and will always be the best market for our manufactures. This fact must not be forgotten in our struggle for commercial empire; and our home market can be preserved only by maintaining to the highest possible degree the purchasing and consuming power of our own people.

If expansion and the struggle for commercial empire means the surrender of protection, then Porto Rico better be turned back to Spain, and General Otis and the army and navy better be recalled from the Philippines. If the victories at Manila and Santiago mean the defeat of the fixed policy of the nation (with slight but disastrous interruptions) since 1789, they will be victories dearly bought. If the guns of Dewey and Sampson and Schley and Shafter sounded the abandonment of our time-honored principles, then the events of the past eighteen months have been mockery and the fires of victory have been but the ashes of defeat. But no such illusion has overtaken us. The policy of protection has made us industrially supreme and it will make us commercially supreme.

Those who suggest the abandonment of protection as an avenue to supremacy in the struggle for commercial empire forget this one fact—that a nation must be industrially and financially supreme before it can be commercially supreme; it must be strong at home before it can be strong abroad. The foreign commerce of the United States has been greatest when it has been strong and prosperous internally. The foreign commerce of the United States has increased enormously since July 1st, 1898. During the last fiscal year it was the greatest in the history of the nation. Congressman Dingley said in the house of representatives, July 19th, 1897:

"Experience has shown that our foreign trade is largest under the protective policy, for the reason that our imports and consumption of luxuries and of such other goods as we do not make rise with the prosperity of our people, and our ability to compete in foreign markets is increased as American inventive genius is stimulated by a brisk demand for products in our domestic market."

Notwithstanding the higher average rate of wages prevailing in this country, and notwithstanding the higher prices paid for what is called "raw material," such is the inventive genius and skill of Americans that they have thus far been able to compete successfully in many directions with European manufacturers in the markets of the world. This degree of skill and perfection was attained under the stimulating encouragement of protection. While it is true that some of the "infant industries," often sarcastically referred to may be able to stand without the protective policy, the real sufferers would be the laboring men and women whose consuming power and standard of living would speedily decline.

An abandonment of protection would be no cure for excessive production. The true remedy is an increase in the consuming power of our own people and an increase in the number of men, women and children to consume our products. The latter can be found and will be found in foreign markets. With thousands of square miles of unoccupied land, and riches still undeveloped, it would be simply madness to abandon protection under the delusion that the short road to increased national greatness is by way of Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines. In the struggle for commercial empire into which events have plunged us, the real business that needs our attention is still greater development at home, so that we may be ready to develop abroad when the proper time comes. Strengthen and nourish the roots of the tree, and all its branches will flourish.

THE OTHER SIDE OF STRIKES

Generally speaking, it may safely be taken for granted that everything has another side. Probably there never was a movement in society with which any considerable number of people were identified, where they were all wrong. Fair investigation usually reveals that the truth is not all on one side. It is never true that one set of men are all devils and tell nothing but lies and all the others angels and tell nothing but the truth.

We have always maintained the necessity and wisdom, as well as justice, of labor organizations;—that it is a part of the indispensable machinery of modern industry that the laborers should act in organized groups. The very nature and character of the factory system and machine methods has made it impossible for laborers to act singly as individuals without being absolutely and unconditionally at the mercy of employers. It is impossible, even though employers were willing, that each laborer should make an individual contract about the wages or price of his work, the hours of labor, and a multitude of other conditions connected with his work. The fact that laborers are compelled, by the nature of modern methods, to work in large groups in specialized departments, each furnishing a fractional unit of product and each being wholly dependent upon the other, and the successful output being dependent on the uniform relation of each department to every other and to the whole, makes it imperative that all should work under one system of regulations as to the time of starting, stopping and other conditions.

The necessary result of this tendency, which on the capital side has brought corporations into existence, has

made group organizations equally necessary on the labor side. As we have emphasized a great many times, a frank, friendly and fair recognition of this fact among employers would do a great deal towards the elimination of labor disputes, especially violent disturbances. But, unfortunately, employers as a class have reluctantly conceded only the minimum of this recognition, some resisting it altogether. In spirit most of them are really opposed to it, while in fact their own existence depends on organization on their part, and they are surprised at any question of its wisdom by the community. On the other hand, it must also be admitted that where organized labor gets full control and can exercise its edict effectively it frequently plays the despot and is intolerably unreasonable in its demands, and not infrequently in such cases it is insolent and ill-mannerly in its bearing. Organized laborers not infrequently think their grievance justifies all kinds of unfairness and even the use of physical force, like the blowing up of trolley cars in the Cleveland strike and physical maltreating of non-union laborers. These acts never fail to react to the great disadvantage of organized labor. We have passed the point where physical force can longer be permitted as an element in economic controversy and industrial disputes. The only methods that can be employed without injury to those who use them are intellectual and moral forces.

In progressive industry new phases of employment are constantly being evolved, and through the introduction of machinery new classifications arise. The great Homestead strike, which will ever be remembered as a blot upon the history of industry in Pennsylvania, was at bottom not a question of wages nor of the hours of labor, but a new classification of certain lines of work, necessitated by the immense improve-

ments in machinery. The union, which in the iron industry was then very strong, decided to resist the new classification. The corporation, instead of frankly trying to point out the unwisdom and injustice of this idea, turned on its heel, resolved on a fight, organized an army of Pinkerton police, and the bloody scene which followed was the consequence; and to-day a union man in Homestead is like a fugitive from justice who has to speak in a whisper and move around in disguise.

The recent strike among the printers on the New York *Sun* is another illustration of what unwisdom can do in a labor controversy. For more than a quarter of a century the *Sun* has been proverbially known as the best office in the printing trade in this country, for pay and for fair and even generous treatment of the men. Now, strange to say, there is a strike in that office, and the *Sun* on the one side is calling the printers a "gang of looters," "brutes" and "blackguards," and the printers are denouncing the management of the *Sun* as all that is disreputable. The printers' union in New York, which is called Typographical Union No. 6, is probably the strongest and most complete labor organization in the country.

We have interviewed both sides of this controversy, and the representatives of the *Sun* and the union respectively flatly contradict each other on nearly all important points in the controversy. Of course the truth is not all on one side, and it would really be rash to say that either is wilfully misrepresenting the facts. This inconsistency of statement is largely a matter of point of view as to rights and interpretation of conduct. The management of the *Sun*, although it has always been a high-class union shop, looks at the whole question from an individualistic point of view. The union, by virtue of its complete organization and habitual

dictatorial conduct, which has largely succeeded, looks at everything from the point of view that the printers' "chapel," and especially the Typographical Union, have practically the right to both the first and the last word in the printing of the *Sun*.

The immediate cause of the strike in the *Sun* office was not a matter of wages. The *Sun* was and still is paying the top notch wages in the trade. It was not a matter of the right of organization, for that was fully recognized. The *Sun* introduced some new type-setting machines into its offices, and the trouble arose over classification of work on them. The more intelligent of trade unionists, including the Typographical Union, have reached the point of ceasing their traditional opposition to machinery, but whenever new machines come the unions magnify the difficulties, minimize the advantages, and try to make them as expensive as possible.

Such machines nearly always involve some new classification of work, and this was the case in the *Sun* office. The type-setting portion of the new machine is nearly automatic, but still requires somebody to mind it and keep it in order. This person must necessarily have some mechanical knowledge. Then there are certain imperfections in the work itself. A wrong letter is occasionally struck by the operator in the room overhead, just as a wrong letter is occasionally struck by a typewriter. This requires correction when the type comes from the machine, and there are spaces and paragraphs to be adjusted, punctuations to be made, etc., which are functions of a printer. The question arises, therefore, under what classification shall those who mind these new machines be put,—machinists or compositors? The union decided that they should be classified as compositors, and that one printer must be appointed to each machine, whether he did anything or not, and paid the full printers' wages of \$27.00 a week.

The *Sun* management regarded this as the last straw on a heavy load of unfair treatment by the Typographical Union, and decided to resist it. While acquiescing for the time being in the union's decision, Mr. Laffan determined to take steps to procure non-union printers, and establish an "open office." The printers got wind of what was going on, and shortly before time of going to press on the night of August 5th quit work. For a few days the *Sun* appeared in rather meager form, issued only by the aid of its most pronounced antagonist, the *Evening Post*, the only non-union daily paper in New York City. The union immediately issued printed circulars denouncing the *Sun* for its editorial attitude toward labor and giving in detail the method by which it endeavored to supplant union men by non-union men through the agency of one Charles William Edwards, a sort of a professional in supplying "rat printers." But it gave practically none of the causes which led to the trouble in the *Sun* office.

On August 22nd the *Sun* published a three-column account of its grievances with the union, setting forth that it was not this particular instance that had caused it to take the bit in its mouth but that the union steadily grew more oppressive and unreasonably despotic in its attitude as its authority was recognized. These indictments collectively, if true, show that the union systematically endeavors to make the expense of printing a newspaper as great as possible, that it uses its power constantly to have unnecessary work done and unnecessary men kept on the pay-roll, by virtue of the unreasonable rules it enforces in union shops. It is hardly necessary to say that the union denies these charges point blank, but investigation of the conditions in other union newspaper offices in the city seems to verify many of the *Sun's* allegations.

Among the charges preferred against the union by the

Sun one is that under the rule of the Typographical Union the management of a newspaper can hire only one person in the hundreds that are employed in the composing room, that is the foreman, and he must be a member of the union. It then relates that the managing editor or any officer of the *Sun* is not permitted to speak to any of the compositors regarding their work, cannot give out copy, or give any directions regarding what he wants done—that he must not even speak to the chairman of the "chapel." It says: "On the *Evening Sun* the Union adopted a rule forbidding the managing editor of the *Evening Sun* to speak to the chairman of the Chapel. The managing editor is the executive head of the newspaper; the chairman of the Chapel is one of his employees. The rule passed said that if the managing editor had anything to say to the chairman of the Chapel, he must say it through the foreman."

This sounds like a very arrogant kind of decision, but granting literally the truth of the *Sun's* statement there is another side to it. As everyone acquainted with the working of a great newspaper knows, in the last hours of going to press everything is in a great rush. The daily newspaper has become a matter of almost clock-work accuracy in its mechanism; everything must be ready promptly on the minute of going to press in order to catch the mails. It is quite clear that if all the editors, reporters and managers could give orders to the different printers as to what should be done about this that or the other, chaos would prevail in the composing room. Delays and mistakes would necessarily result. To avoid this the union adopted the rule that no orders should be given to compositors except through the foreman. Experience made this necessary to order and efficiency. The chairman of the Chapel, it should be remembered, is nobody except an ordinary compositor who is elected to preside over the meetings of the men,

and is in no sense an official who gives out work or anything of the kind. The rule can hardly be urged as a detriment to the management of the room; on the contrary it is a great aid. It simplifies the order-giving function, fixes responsibility, and must in the nature of things minimize friction. While the *Sun's* statement is not technically untrue, therefore, in reality the effect of the decision is not at all what would seem to be conveyed by the *Sun's* point of view in presenting the case.

Another charge preferred by the *Sun* against the union is that it insists that everything which goes into the paper shall be set up in the composing room. Thus, for instance, if an advertiser who has a printing office of his own, for the sake of getting special kinds of artistic display in the setting of his advertisements, sets his own advertisement and furnishes it to the newspaper, the union insists on setting it over again or being paid for the matter without doing the work. This charge is practically sustained by the management of other newspapers, and in reality is not denied by the union. This is what the *Sun* means by "blood money," or looting the office. The theory of the union is that this is done in order to prevent newspapers from getting their advertisements set in "rat offices," but it is clearly a matter of "hold-up." It is using the power of the union to make employers pay something for nothing. In other words, it is imposing a fine equivalent to the full price of doing the work which an advertiser happens to insist on doing for himself. The union can hardly expect that employers will always endure that sort of treatment. Nobody likes to be taxed, hands up. The laborers would strike for an imposition not one-hundredth so bold as this. There can be no equity and ultimately there can be no permanence in a rule which clearly makes an employer pay for work that everybody knows is not done, and, when the union holds the threat

of a strike over the manager of a paper for refusal to do this, it is in the very nature of things that he will gradually become soured and stand ready when the first opportunity comes to strike a blow back to the union.

Of course there is something to be said on the other side even of this. It is that if newspapers could send their advertisements, which are regarded as "fat," out to non-union shops and get them done at half-price, the practice would finally come into vogue of the advertising portion of the paper being set up mainly in non-union offices, which would practically amount to a reduction of wages for nearly half the paper in most cases.

Another charge is regarding the use of held-over matter. Everybody connected with the printing business knows that a publication which goes to press regularly at set times will necessarily have more matter in type than can be printed, and this is strikingly true of daily newspapers. Sometimes nearly as much matter is left over as is printed. Where there is a morning and evening edition in the same office, as the *Sun* properly points out, much of this matter can be printed in the other edition. But the union decides that all matter set up for the evening paper and used in the morning paper must either be set up again or the union must be paid a bonus equivalent to the full price. Why? Because the price for composition on morning papers is higher than on evening papers, the reason being that on the morning papers the men work in the night and cannot as continuously follow their work as the men on the evening papers who work in the day time. The theory of the union here is that if the transfer of matter were admitted much of the morning paper matter would be set by the evening paper men and therefore be paid for at a lower rate, which to the extent that it was done would be a reduction of wages. It must be admitted that there is something in this, but it does not justify

the demand that left-over matter from the evening paper, which has been paid for at full union rates for evening matter, should be paid for over again at the full morning rates. The most that justice could demand in such a case would be that the *difference* should be paid, so that all the matter which goes into the morning paper should be paid for at the morning rate. But to demand that it shall all be set up over again, or paid for and not set up, is manifestly a means of exacting toll which no rule of equity, economy and fair relations can justify.

It is as much a part of the duty of labor unions to aid legitimately the economy of production as it is of the employers to use the power of organization. All legitimate influences should be wielded by organized labor to promote the increase of wages; this is in the interest of the welfare of the community as well as of the laborers. But the use of organization for the direct purpose of unnecessarily increasing the cost of production, of forcing unnecessary and wasteful expenditure by giving something for nothing, is contrary to public interest. It is manifestly unjust, and is the sort of thing that does more than all else to create an unfavorable opinion among employers and the public of labor organizations.

Could not these frictions have been avoided? The strike is a misfortune. The management of the *Sun* laments it, and the responsible leaders of the union are in real sorrow over it. Nothing would delight them quite so much as to wake up to-morrow morning with the knowledge that the *Sun* was a union office again. We may criticise the men for their narrow-mindedness and the employers for their high-handedness in the matter, but this is largely a question of education and evolution. The workmen used to be more unreasonable than they are, and the employers far more

intolerant than they are. Experience is doing its refining work. It is broadening the views of employers and increasing the intelligence and spirit of fairness among the laborers. The remedy for this, therefore, is not to say that organizations are failures and must be resisted. That only means more strife, loss and disturbances, social hatred and constant distrust between laborers and employers. These imperfections are not due to organization, but to lack of education and experience. Organization is one of the best educators for both sides, and the remedy for this disappointing aspect of organization is more organization. A little education is apt to produce impudence, the remedy for which is more education, which creates refinement. For concerns like the *Sun* and the Carnegie Steel Company, which have had disagreeable experiences with organized labor, to declare war against labor organizations is to turn their faces against the inevitable tendencies of industrial progress, as well as upon every principle they themselves represent and exemplify in their own experience.

These experiences, like those of the strike on the Brooklyn and Cleveland trolley systems, illustrate the need of a third or extra organization—what we have previously called a Labor Senate—which shall act as a steadyng force for the other two. It should be a board made up in equal proportions of representatives of employers and workingmen. For instance: Suppose in New York City there was a joint organization of representatives of the printers' unions and representatives of all publishing corporations, the number of representatives from the printers and the employers in every concern being equal, and this board had a special rule that no lockout or strike should be inaugurated until the matter had first been discussed by the joint representatives in this extra organization. If the laborers of any shop struck without such approval, then it should

not receive the support of the union, and if any corporation instituted a lockout without the consent of this body it should receive the disapproval of all the other employers, who should give their moral aid to the workmen in the strike. Had such an organization existed the *Sun* matter would not have resulted in a strike, neither would the dispute on the Brooklyn railroad. The question of the reasonableness or unreasonableness of the union's rules would have been passed upon in the early stages of their evolution, and the question of classification would easily have been adjusted.

This strike is largely a case of cumulative suspicious interpretation by the union of the employer and of the union by the employer. An appeal to a third body, composed of the entire trade, both unions and employers, where cool judgment and less intense personal interest prevails, would remove the controversy to sufficiently judicial grounds to prevent a strike in probably more than ninety per cent. of the cases. If the union—and this is a good opportunity—would consider this, and make a formal proposition to the employers, it is more than probable that in New York City this could be accomplished. If it were accomplished in New York City and successfully applied it would soon become the rule throughout the country, and much of the friction now existing between employer and employee would be eliminated, and a great advance made towards the establishment of industrial harmony. This is probably the next important step that will have to come in industrial organization, and, with our immense growth in so-called trusts and large corporations, this system of a mutual union should not be delayed. Its establishment would show that the United States is not only the most progressive country in the matter of productive development, but that it also leads the world in the organized associate solution of the labor problem.

MAINTAINING THE GOLD STANDARD

There can be hardly any doubt that business sentiment in the United States is in favor of the gold standard. This was rather clearly demonstrated in the election of 1896, when such a large proportion of the community who were opposed to Mr. McKinley's political theories, particularly on the tariff, spoke, worked and voted for his election. Since that time the change in the business condition of the country has strengthened rather than weakened the popular conviction in favor of the gold standard.

This is so pronounced that there is now a very audible and persistent demand that something be done by congress more definitely to establish the gold standard. In some quarters it is, not unreasonably, accompanied by some disappointment that during the three years of the McKinley administration nothing has been done legally to clarify the public mind and more firmly establish the gold standard basis of our financial system. There seems to be some division of opinion among the ablest gold standard journals as to whether any legislation is necessary on the subject. Some journals, like the *New York Sun*, which although formerly a free silver advocate is now ardently for the gold standard, take the position that the gold standard was established by the act of 1873 and therefore no legislation upon the subject is necessary.

It is undoubtedly true, for various reasons, that the monetary system of this country has practically been on a gold standard basis since 1834. It is also true that the act of 1873 speaks of gold as the standard of value. It is further true that the advocates of free coinage so regard it, and for that reason call the coinage act of that year the "crime of 1873." To that fact they ascribe all

the evils that have befallen the nation, from whatever cause, during the last twenty-five years. But it is quite clear that that is not the general opinion. It may, as the New York *Sun* says, be: "Because fool editors and fool politicians insist on asserting in the face of demonstration that it is not a fact, and thus delude their readers and their hearers," but these very "fool editors and fool politicians" could not make any serious impression upon the public if the fact was very definitely clear.

Everybody knows that the republicans have vehemently protested against the Bryan allegation that the "crime of 1873" demonetized silver and established a single gold standard. They have declared, and with a great deal of truth, that silver was not demonetized, and in their party platforms they have asserted and reasserted their devotion to bimetallism. In the act of congress passed in 1893, repealing the silver purchasing clause of the Sherman Act, this doctrine of bimetallism was reasserted in these words: "And it is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to continue the use of both gold and silver as *standard money*, and to coin both gold and silver into money of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, such equality to be secured by international agreement." It will be remembered that among the early acts of Mr. McKinley's administration he appointed a monetary commission to go to Europe and try to induce England—in the belief that if England conceded it France, Germany and Australia would follow—to adopt the free coinage of silver. If the single gold standard is unqualifiedly adopted by law it is a little singular that party platforms and acts of congress should declare in favor of continuing "the use of both gold and silver as *standard money*." There must be some uncleanness about the situation or this could not occur. It is impossible that we should have the single

gold standard and at the same time use both gold and silver as standard money.

In practice it is true that we have the gold standard, and it is likewise a fact that by legal implication the gold standard is established, but it is also true that for political purposes this has been so frequently denied, and the expression in party utterances and statutory announcements in favor of the double standard has been so frequent, that the public mind is actually in doubt on the subject.

Moreover, if the legal establishment of the gold standard was complete, it would be impossible to in any way disturb it without an act of congress re-establishing a double standard. Indeed, this is the New York *Sun's* contention. But the facts do not clearly establish that view. No fact can be clearer than that we have almost half a billion standard silver dollars in the country, which are as full legal tender standard money as gold, and since 1895 we have been coining standard silver dollars at the rate of from a million and a half to two millions and a quarter a month. It can hardly be contended that gold is the only standard money when there are more than half as many standard silver dollars in the country as there are gold dollars. The existence of this large amount of standard silver dollars really constitutes the uncertain element in the question. While it is true that in various ways in party platforms and acts of congress it is asserted that gold is the standard, there is nothing in any of the acts which prevents silver from being used as standard money under all circumstances, as substituted for or as the equivalent of gold.

To the average uninitiated student of the question it may seem a little odd that this double-sidedness of the single gold standard legislation should exist. But it is due to the lack of candor of party leaders. It is quite

clear that the republican party as a party, and a certain element of the democratic party, have favored the gold standard for a great many years, but the democrats and a certain element of republicans have as increasingly favored the free coinage of silver—so-called bimetallism,—and for fear of making deserters from the party ranks the republican leaders have not dared frankly to avow the doctrine of the gold standard, while for fear of being entirely ostracized from the party the sound money democrats have had scarcely more courage on the subject. The result of this timid position, partly due to the lack of clear conviction and more largely due to political cowardice, is that the republicans have endeavored to favor the gold standard somewhat surreptitiously by proclaiming simultaneously in favor of the “principle” of bimetallism. The consequence is that while they have been legislating “what politics would bear” in favor of the gold standard, they have played friendship for silver;—hence the various platform proclamations, monetary commissions, etc. And the naked fact to-day is that neither alone nor in combination with the sound money democrats have the republicans ventured frankly and unequivocally to adopt a law making gold not only the monetary standard of value, but the only money in which the nation’s obligations should be paid.

Through this timid, half-hearted, semi-shifty policy the subject is in anything but a definitely closed condition. So long as we have nearly five hundred millions of full standard legal tender silver dollars in the country, and the nation’s obligations are payable in “coin,” it is clearly at the option of the president, through his secretary of the treasury, to pay those obligations in silver. As a matter of fact, of all the two billion dollars of our national obligations, less than one hundred millions is payable in gold. For all this silver could be used in the place of gold. Now, if Mr. Bryan were

elected and had the courage of his announcements—and it is to be assumed he has—he could at once substitute silver for gold in all government transactions. This would put every dollar of our paper currency except the gold certificates on a silver basis. The national bank notes, which are endorsed by the government, and the greenbacks, which are its own notes, are redeemable in standard coin. With our paper currency converted to a silver basis of redemption, confidence in the gold standard of payment would vanish at a flash, and for all practical purposes we would be on a silver basis. The havoc that this would create with business confidence and all credit relations would probably cause a panic in comparison to which the summer of 1893 was prosperity.

It can hardly be seriously contended that the gold standard is really established when the conditions are such that the word of a president could practically put us on a silver basis in twenty-four hours. As before stated, it is true that since 1834 we have practically been on a gold basis, and, as the New York *Sun* contends, since 1873 we have legally been on a gold basis. But the legality is so incomplete, so surrounded by doubtful conditions and positive loop-holes, that the gold standard cannot stand by the legal machinery which brought it into existence alone. Its safety really depends on the good will of the president of the United States. An enemy of the gold standard in the White House could banish it in a week.

It is, therefore, manifest that those who in good faith want the gold standard are very anxious that its legal status should be buttressed and strengthened; should be made impregnable against everything short of an act of congress removing it. They very properly believe that it should be put beyond the power of being jeopardized by the will of a president or a secretary of the treasury. The demand on the republican party

that it should pass an act at the coming session of congress establishing the gold standard beyond the realm of doubt is a proper and judicious demand, and if that party honestly believes in the gold standard it ought promptly to pass such an act.

The case is well put in a resolution unanimously adopted by the recent American Bankers' Association, that:

"The bankers of the United States most earnestly recommend that the Congress of the United States at its next session shall enact a law to more firmly and unequivocally establish the gold standard in this country by providing that the gold dollar, which, under existing law, is the unit of value, shall be the standard and measure of all values in the United States; that all the obligations of the Government, and all paper money, including the circulating notes of National banks, shall be redeemed in gold coin, and that the legal-tender notes of the United States when paid into the Treasury shall not be reissued except upon the deposit of an equivalent amount of gold coin."

If the republican party believes in the gold standard and the American people want the gold standard, there can be no legitimate reason for hesitating to put the essence of the above resolution into law. Of course, if the republicans want to play fast and loose with the silverites, if they still want to have the privilege of declaring in favor of bimetallism, they may properly avoid the responsibility of passing such a law, but in doing so they really take the responsibility of leaving it within the power of a single man to put this country on a silver basis and throw the nation into a financial panic with the certainty of another period of industrial depression.

Of course, it is not to be assumed that Mr. Bryan will be elected. Ordinarily one would suppose that such a thing would be impossible. But queer things happen in politics. It would be difficult indeed, on any principle of economic or political science, to explain how, at the high water mark of prosperity, the American people could have voted for a reversal of fiscal and

economic policy, as in 1893. But they did, and immediately confidence vanished and industrial hysterics prevailed. Four years of disaster was enough to bring about a return to former policies, but meantime a period of calamity was inflicted upon this nation. It is a part of ordinary sense, not to say of statesmanship, to provide against such misfortunes, and while there is a majority in both branches of congress professedly in favor of sound money and the gold standard, with a president now thoroughly converted to the same doctrine, the nation having twice, in 1896 and 1898, confirmed its decision in favor of the gold standard, there should not be the slightest hesitation about furnishing whatever legal enactment is necessary to make it impregnable against all attacks from every source, except the express will of the people through a majority vote in congress. Promptly to do this should be one of the earliest acts of the congress which meets next December.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUNG MEN

EX-SENATOR WASHBURN, of Minnesota, in a recent public address, complained about the disappearance of opportunities for young men. The trouble is, of course, attributed to trusts:

"This building up of trusts puts a stop to fair and equal opportunities for the young men of to-day. The young man just out of college has no opening, as a rule. He cannot begin business on his own account against organized capital. He must join the procession. He must content himself with being a mere clerk, and the chances are that he will never get any further, because there are so many in his class."

Technically, there is one sense in which this contains an element of truth. Young men nowadays do not embark on independent attempts to produce sugar, oil, iron and steel, nor to build railroads and set up telegraph systems. But does this mean that the door for profitable employment of a young man's capacities and energies is closed? Of course not.

In the first place, there are many large groups of business which are and always will remain largely individualistic, such as store-keeping, banking, printing and publishing, intensive agriculture, fruit canning, cheese, butter and cream manufacture, barrel and wood-work manufacture, grist mills, carriage and wagon building; to say nothing of the professions and the mechanical and artistic trades. Then there are new groups of industries coming into existence all the time, at first in a small way; for example, the scores of distinct enterprises involving different applications of electricity.

In the next place, the growth of corporations and trusts has opened up fully as many and doubtless more lucrative positions,—officials, superintendents, foremen, agents and representatives, etc.,—as the sum total of independent proprietors in these same lines before the

era of consolidation. If the facts could be accurately known, unquestionably they would show that the group maintaining the same general scale of social well-being as the individual proprietors of twenty-five and fifty years ago has actually increased instead of diminished, relatively to the total population.

But even more important than all this is the overwhelming fact of the increased opportunity and improvement in well-being which the modern method of large corporate industry, particularly in Europe, opens up to the laboring class. Entire new groups of population have, through the rise of corporations and the wage system, been lifted out of the degrading conditions of rural peasant life and established on a distinctly higher plane, as recipients of regular incomes, residents of urban instead of isolated rural communities, and with a definite distinction established for the first time between hours of labor and hours of leisure and recreation. The wage system is a vast training school which offers the relief from personal worry and care, and the restriction of working hours, necessary before the lower groups in society can progress, industrially or socially.

The empty-handed country youth comes to the city for his opportunity. He can do nothing at home; get nowhere. He becomes a clerk or operative in the employ of a corporation. He can study, prepare himself, observe his surroundings and chances, and lay up money. Gradually such an one wins promotion, or if he finds some different and special bent and has it in him to rise, he will and does strike out and succeed. If he lacks any particular force or genius, his clerkship is the best place for him. The world is not closed to talent; it is urgently demanding it, and the only real complaint that holds good is the scarcity of exceptional merit.

Ex-Senator Washburn should rub the prejudice out of his eyes and look at the situation again.

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

IT IS BEING currently circulated that Senator Lodge is encouraging or even advocating the nomination of Governor Roosevelt for vice-president in 1900. The fact of Senator Lodge's personal friendliness makes us question the truth of the report. It is notorious that the office of vice-president is practically a political death-chair. It is a good place to pay political debts with ornamental honor, but from force of custom it has become the political terminus of whoever passes that way. It is an excellent position for men like ex-Governor Morton, from whom no further public activity was to be expected, but not at all the position for men like Governor Roosevelt. For him to pass from the governorship of the Empire State to the vice-presidency of the United States would be to step down, if not out. The Governor has himself announced that he would not consider it. Why should his friends, or why should anybody in the name of friend, then, suggest it? We have better uses for Governor Roosevelt than to put him to sleep in the vice-presidency.

GENERAL MERRIAM, who took so prominent a part in suppressing the recent miners' riots in Idaho, is credited with expressing this opinion on labor organizations:

"Since the trouble largely originates in hostile organizations of men known as labor unions, I should suggest a law making the formation of such unions or kindred societies a crime."

If General Merriam really said this, it is intolerable. It is not so much a question of the importance of any army officer's views on the subject. Nobody cares for their opinions, since on anything outside military affairs they are more than often worthless. The present case, however, is significant because of the fact that General Merriam is one of the type of men who are

certain to figure largely in the administration of our new possessions, where labor problems will be constantly to the fore. Suppression of riots is right and absolutely necessary, but a man holding such views on the general subject of labor organization is incapable of appreciating the first principles of democratic society. When we have conquered the Philippines we shall have military governors-general appointed to administer their affairs. They will have very largely a free hand in matters involving contract labor, rights of organization, and industrial disputes. Under an official charged with the mediaeval ideas on labor attributed to General Merriam, the opportunity of the laborers in our new dependencies will be about on the level with what they enjoyed under Spanish domination. Either General Merriam should repudiate this utterance, or the government should keep him on the home guard and off active duty.

AN INTERESTING dispute is going on between the farmers in the Harlem Valley, near Brewster, New York, and the Borden Condensed Milk Company. The farmers declare that the company is paying so low a price for milk that the producers might better throw the milk on the ground than take it to the factory. Therefore they have come together and refused to sign an agreement for the coming year.

Such an agitation points an economic tendency. The complaint of abnormally low prices for farm products has long been universal, East and West. One of the chief causes of the difficulty is the isolated, disorganized situation of the producers. In manufacturing industries consolidation has eliminated much of this trouble, by bringing the producers together, so that the field can be properly surveyed and supply adjusted to the demand. When the farmers learn the same wisdom,

the day of complaints about having to sell products time and again at the bare cost of production or less will be past. Better that the price to consumers be a little higher than that any class in the community should be continuously producing commodities under conditions that permit only the most meagre standard of living. Improved methods of farming to reduce unnecessary expense and waste on the one hand, and organization to regulate the supply and secure prices that shall at least not involve loss, are the two sides of the program the farmer needs to adopt. We are glad to see the idea getting around. If the Brewster farmers succeed, their example may well be emulated elsewhere.

THE CONDUCT OF the Rennes court martial in a second time pronouncing Dreyfus guilty has revealed a side to the character of the French as a nation which the civilized world was not prepared to believe. The proceedings of the trial from day to day conclusively demonstrated that there is little hope of justice in French courts. It is an obvious case of the army running the politics and popular prejudice sustaining the army. Such outrages in the name of a trial are scarcely to be found in the annals of Christian jurisprudence. The testimony was chiefly partisan opinion from generals who, it is known, were anxious to have Dreyfus convicted. Everybody now knows that perjury of the baldest kind pervaded nearly all the testimony, and when it was asked that witnesses from Italy and Germany who could practically decide the truth or error of the charge, be given an opportunity to be heard, it was denied. This trial has not merely been a trial of Captain Dreyfus but a trial of the French people before the bar of civilization, and they have been found guilty of subverting every principle of ordinary fair play.

For this outrage upon the canons of justice, the na-

tions of Christendom should resolve to ostracize France from the community of civilized peoples, socially, politically and industrially. If its military and civil system permits such an outrage upon all the sentiments of justice and humanity, it should be practically isolated from the rest of the world and permitted, or rather compelled, to go its way alone. The World's Fair, by the absence of the people from other civilized countries, should be converted into a French Fair. If the people of the United States, England and Germany would with practical unanimity abstain from going to the World's Fair, France would begin to get a realizing sense of the estimate in which its sin against civilization to bolster up the insolent power of a corrupt army is being held. With such maladministration of justice, no country can long maintain the semblance of democratic institutions, and it should not be permitted without the moral protest of mankind to wear the mask of a republic.

THE VERY UNJUST and un-banking-like decision of the New York clearing house to charge customers one quarter of one per cent., or a minimum of ten cents, for the collection of each check on out-of-town banks has begun to work its natural result. It was pointed out in these pages at the time that this was a backward step in banking; that it was a step toward making banks less serviceable to the community, less efficient popular institutions, and more petty and annoying to their customers. As in the case of every obtruding paternal and offensive method of treating the business community, either by governments or banks, the principle of self interest immediately asserted itself in devising means to evade this direct tax. People began to ask their customers to make remittances by drafts, money orders, etc. Banks out of New York began to offer to collect checks for New York depositors free. But the

scheme seemed to the short-sighted managers of the clearing house to be such an easy way of increasing their income that they have persisted in their folly. The various clumsy features of the machinery connected with our banking system have for some time been tending to evolve a new set of institutions, which fill the functions of banks, known as trust companies. These trust companies are paying interest for deposits, whereas most national banks get them free. The trust companies have been in the clearing house and were compelled for the time being to adopt the charge for check collection, since, trade union-like, the clearing house made a rule to expel anyone who violated this order. Now the national tendency toward economic business methods has asserted itself in the announcement that the Produce Exchange Trust Company has severed its connection with the clearing house, and announces that it will adhere to the old business method of collecting checks for its customers without charge. Let the banks persist in their folly a little longer in this and other directions and they will soon find themselves superseded by these trust companies, which do the business of the community cheaper and better. The selfish principle of "grab all in sight" in the long run is sure to fail, as it ought to.

THE CHICAGO *Times-Herald*, on the morning after the Dreyfus verdict, printed an editorial headed "France found Guilty," in the course of which it said: "France rather than Dreyfus stands convicted by this judgment It is the inevitable conclusion that France does not deserve to be a republic, that its proper place among the nations is that of a military despotism."

On the next day, as if alarmed by its own righteous indignation, it published two editorials on exactly the reverse tack; decried all violent denunciation of France

as responsible for the verdict, reminded its readers that "the French army does not contain all the people of France," and asked, with an emphatic negative implied: "Should Americans boycott a great international exposition, held under the auspices of the French government, because the French army officers have sent a fellow captain to prison?"

Clearly this is a case of too many cooks spoiling the editorial broth. The *Times-Herald* was much more nearly right before it cooled off and had time to get weak-kneed on the subject.

Of course, the condemnation which civilization visits upon France to-day is not personal or individual hostility. It is a case of holding the nation responsible for the moral conduct of one of its great official representative organizations. This is perfectly legitimate. When war exists between two nations, for example, it does not imply that every citizen of the one country has a mortal feud with every citizen of the other. The struggle is between specially selected and organized bodies representing the nation in the aggregate. France is nominally a republic. Theoretically the character of her institutions and conduct of her official bodies is reflected from the will and character of the population. Therefore the people of France should be made to feel that the shame of the Rennes outrage attaches to the whole country, and can be expiated only by such an outburst of public sentiment as will drive from authority and into disgrace the utterly corrupt and unscrupulous conspirators now running the military affairs of the republic. If boycotting the exposition, or holding France and the French in moral contempt throughout Christendom, will stimulate this sense of shame and awaken the moral conscience of the people, then that attitude on the part of the outside world is thoroughly justifiable and should be taken.

BETTER DIVISION OF LABOR IN SCHOOLS

W. F. EDWARDS

Public education in free schools has brought us face to face with numerous difficulties, many of which could have been foreseen and in a way avoided and many of which could not have been foreseen, or, if foreseen, could not have been easily avoided. The complex curriculum of our schools to-day with its attendant difficulties could scarcely have been foretold by educators of one hundred years ago, and the history of the last fifty years in the development of free schools shows that this complex curriculum could not have been avoided, or rather that the curriculum has become complex in spite of the opposition of the ever present ultra conservatives. That crowded schoolhouses and poor teaching would result could have been more or less clearly foretold and to some extent avoided.

The solution of the problem of the complexity of the curriculum in our schools is being discussed under such "heads" as co-ordination, concentration, correlation, etc.; but, so far as I am able to judge, the problem instead of nearing a satisfactory solution is becoming more and more difficult. To say that the true function of education is to fit the boy or girl for life or for more intelligent and better citizenship, and to define that for this purpose three groups of studies, the humanistic group with an ethical content, the nature group with a scientific content, and the art group with its content of practical application, are essential; or to say that a liberal education includes as essential prolonged and scholastic pursuit of three groups of subjects, language and literature, mathematics and science, and the soul of man, does not do much to simplify the curriculum or to increase the efficiency of teachers.

The National Educational Association has given attention to both of these problems and has made reports thereon. The report of the Committee of Ten on secondary school studies cannot be said even to approximate a solution. The report shows rather what time should be devoted to and how much of the subject should be digested in this time as judged by specialists in each subject. Specialists are so apt to feel that the subject of their special study is of more importance than other subjects that one can only expect them to urge a more careful study of their respective subjects. The report of the Committee of Fifteen on the correlation of studies shows serious differences of opinion on this phase of the problem. Thus among educators there seems to be unanimity of opinion only when details are neglected.

With complexity in the curriculum and crowded schoolhouses have come two other important problems—that of the division of labor among the teachers of graded schools and that of the grouping of the pupils, both as regards the education of the pupil and the economic development of the schools. While ancient languages and mathematics constituted the principal part of the curriculum these problems were of little importance, but to-day they are difficult of solution. While students were in large measure expected to follow one of the three professions, divinity, medicine or law, and were so to speak set apart for this purpose, they had little to do but attend to their studies and were usually away from home where they came to have more or less the same environment. To-day our boys and girls in free schools at home are subject to the influence of home environment and have their home duties to attend to, and are very little influenced in many cases by school environment. Pupils come to the same school from all sorts of homes, with all sorts of tendencies and

all sorts of fancies. Some come to the school at the age of six years using better English than many others will use at the age of sixteen years. Some come with what usually goes as "good manners" and are "polite" and perhaps tricky at the same time, while others have a very rough exterior but a blunt honesty that gives the discriminating teacher hope from the very first. Some are trained to observation in their homes so well that the teacher can but wish they might have stayed there a year or two longer before coming to school, while others are trained to nothing at all at home and at first fill the teacher with a confusion of ideas as to what is the best way to begin with them. Some come to school who have known only hunger and general deprivation from birth, and who have come to school because the truant officer will not leave them unmolested in what they call their homes; children whose insufficient food and clothing do not afford them the required energy to go apace with their more fortunate neighbors. In brief, some come with one defect or failing and some with another.

The teacher who has a room full of pupils to keep busy with exercises or recitations does not have much time to discover much else than that these pupils do not go at the same rate, that some seem to be very quick to understand while others are dull, that some are sprightly and mischievous while others are quiet and plodding, that some who did good work at the beginning of the term have learned to play marbles and have lost interest in all else while others have become tired of marbles and seem to have gained interest in their school work. At the end of the year it is thus found that some can go on with their work while others cannot, that some can go on in some subjects but cannot go on with others, that some are capable of going faster while others must go slower than the class have been going. Accordingly

the pupils have been sorted at the end of the year, so that some proceed with full credit while others go on with one study to make up or are put back a year to go over the same work with the same teacher. This way of sorting the pupils has been found very unsatisfactory, as might have been expected. The pupil who goes on with one study to make up has too much work and the one who is put back loses interest and becomes so indifferent that his parents finally take him from school, to the satisfaction of the teacher. To overcome this difficulty in part "elastic systems" of grading have been suggested and in many schools have been introduced.

These "elastic systems" are devices for sorting the pupils oftener than once in each year. The common device is that of carrying two or more classes doing the same work. There are two general ways of doing this; that of carrying classes that begin at different times of the year and do work at the same rate and that of carrying classes that begin at the same time of the year and do the work at different rates. In the first case if there are two classes in parallel, one begins at the beginning of the school year and the other at the middle of the school year; if there are three classes the second begins at the beginning of the second third and the third at the beginning of the third third of the school-year, and in like manner if there are four classes one begins at the beginning of each quarter of the school-year. In the second case the classes all begin at the beginning of the school-year. The pupils are sorted into as many groups as there are classes and as nearly as can be according to their supposed capacity of doing the work. If the sorting has chanced to be well done the teacher soon finds a rate that seems to be adapted to the capacity of the class and the class

goes at this rate. There may chance to be considerable variation in the rates of different classes.

A modification of the rate system is that of carrying two classes, one with a six-year rate and the other with an eight-year rate of doing the work below the high school. At the end of the third year if pupils in the six-year class are found to be too slow they are transferred to the beginning of the fifth year of the eight-year class and those in the eight-year class who can go fast enough are transferred at the end of the fourth year into the six-year class at the beginning of its fourth year. Thus the pupil may complete the work in six, seven or eight years according to the transfers made.

It is obvious that whichever of these systems may be used for the whole course of study it is more or less a question of time rate; that is to say, there is a variation in the total time required for pupils to pass through the grades up to the high school, or through the high school itself if the system is continued in the high school. It is also obvious that the modification of the second system is the only one in which there are no jerks backward or forward. In it there is simply a change of rate at the middle of the course of study. However, in this "double track" system as it has been called, pupils may be sorted and switched from one track to the other at any time, as in the second case above. This could be done to advantage during the first year, and indeed it would be necessary to do it during the first half of the first year in order that the groups might be more suited to the different rates than can be determined at the beginning of the year.

Doubtless these systems furnish opportunity for more frequent reclassification than can be successfully carried on in the ordinary way, and in some measure they must do away with the annual "final" promotion

examination, but they do not increase much, if at all, the opportunity for attention to the individual needs of pupils, and are apt to lead the pupil to ask for promotion tests at any and all times. This must increase the work and worry of the already overburdened teacher, as well as lead to increased text-book cramming. Where arithmetic and language work are made the basis of reclassification, by dividing the classes in these subjects into groups as nearly as may be according to the particular needs of the pupils, it is possible to save the teacher time on some groups which may be used on a more needy group. To make arithmetic and language work the basis of reclassification is to give a tendency to increase the time devoted to these studies. These subjects already receive too much time and yet are the two subjects of which the pupil entering the high school, or the university for that matter, shows the most wretchedly deficient knowledge.

The tendency of all these schemes is toward text-book cramming, hurrying through school, and a bad form of emulation, as is well shown for the arithmetic and language group method in the June, 1897, number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, in an article entitled "The Lock-Step of the Public Schools."

It is not my intention to deal at all in detail with the course of study as to essential or non-essential subjects, or as to the time that should be devoted to each, but rather to propose a change in the method of distributing the work that will, in my opinion, very much increase the efficiency of teachers, improve the quality of instruction, and at the same time increase the quantity of knowledge obtained by and improve the intelligence of the child, with less expenditure of energy on the part of both teacher and pupil. In the language of the industrial economist, it is a method that will result in improved methods of production, improved

quality and increased quantity of the product, and, in some respects at least, in increased cost of production.

It seems idle to talk of decreasing the cost of our schools when it is understood that they now cost only a little more than we pay for pensions. Doubtless it would be unwise to attempt to reduce the total cost of our schools, but for the same money spent we ought to get better results; or, rather, with twice the money now spent on our schools we ought to get at the very least three times the educational benefit therefrom that we now get. In this matter there is no question of underconsumption, since the product is consumed at the same time that it is made. Neither is there any danger of consuming too much of the right kind of product.

In order to bring this about it is necessary to specialize, as in manufacturing industries, in such a way that each machine in the hands of a skilled laborer is made to produce as much as possible of the best product the machine is capable of producing. To accomplish this we need to change from a method of distribution of the work wherein a teacher has charge of all the pupils of one or more grades and at the same time teaches all the subjects studied in those grades, to a method wherein the teacher in charge of the pupils does no class teaching and the class teacher teaches the same subject or subjects for all the grades and has nothing to do with session-room work. This would require some remodeling of school buildings and some revision of the ideas of discipline and of the duties of teachers in charge of session rooms.

The first requirement is a large session room with suitable seats for, say, one hundred children. It should have sufficient water-closets and wash-rooms connected with it. Also it should be fitted with wall cases for books, museum specimens, etc. The second requirement is a sufficient number of class rooms for twenty

pupils, each suitably connected with the session room and fitted with the proper seats, tables and other equipment necessary for the kind of work to be done under the direction of the teacher of that room. As examples I will suggest that there should be a room with tables, each having a drawer for tweezers, "teasing" needles, scissors, knives, hand magnifiers, etc., for close observation work on plants, grasshoppers, etc.; a room with proper equipment for writing and drawing; a room fitted for the teacher of vocal music; a room for carpenter work; a room for physics and chemistry; a room for physical culture, etc.

In this way twenty hand magnifiers, twenty tweezers, twenty "teasing" needles, etc., would do for ten half-hour classes of twenty pupils each; or two hundred pupils could be accommodated each day by using only twenty sets of apparatus. One teacher could thus attend to the instruction in a subject for five grades of forty pupils each. The same could be said of other class rooms and teachers.

The session-room teacher should be the broadest and ablest to be found, for she more than any other will be an example and moral aid to the pupils. The class-room teachers should report to the session-room teacher pupils requiring special attention, and as well as may be what the special attention should be. The session-room teacher could thus be very serviceable in doing "individual" teaching. The books and museum specimens for the wall cases mentioned above should be chosen with regard to their usefulness to the pupils of the session room for supplementary work and for individual teaching.

It should not be understood that narrow specialization on the part of the class-room teachers is desirable or indeed to be tolerated, even though it would result in lower salaries. They should be broadly trained

teachers who understand the ideals and aims of education, and who, while they expect to teach only a single subject, understand the value of the other subjects as aids to the development of the child toward this ideal. They are supposed to specialize in the sense of having much more knowledge of details of the subject they intend teaching than it is possible for them to have of all the subjects taught in the schools.

By this method pupils will be with the same teachers for several years, and will thus be relieved from much of that sort of repetition of work that so frequently occurs in passing up the grades in the ordinary way, and which does much to develop indifference and laziness in many children. Under this plan much can be done to meet the demands of those whose home duties, etc., make it almost necessary for them not to carry full work at school. Being in the same session room for several years he needs only to carry as much work as he can conveniently. As an example take the case of a child whose parents wish her to take lessons on the piano. The parents are willing that the child should be longer than the ordinary time in passing through the school if only it would not interfere with her school work. Of course when formal grouping of the knowledge acquired in the lower grades is begun, attention will have to be paid to the order in which "sequential" subjects are taken. In this way the total time of passing through school may be varied by varying the number of studies taken at the same time instead of varying the rate at which an ironclad course of study is stuffed into the child. The course of study must doubtless be more or less ironclad in its entirety, but it is not necessary to force it into the child with the usual parallelism and sequence of parts.

This plan would be of great advantage to rural schools if pupils could be transported so as to bring from fifty

to sixty together. For this number a session room and two class-rooms would be desirable. These schools could then have much better equipment than they, for the most part, have under the present plan.

While this plan of distributing the work does not differ very much from that in use in the larger high schools, it does vary somewhat from that used in the smaller high schools. In the smaller high schools the session-room teacher does about as much class teaching as the class-room teachers do. The session-room teacher frequently chooses a heterogeneous mixture of subjects and requires the class-room teachers to divide the other subjects between them. All the teachers are thus liable to teach a language, a science, some part of mathematics, some part of history, etc., instead of specializing as indicated above.

These high schools should not be marked off by a line from the grammar grades. It would then be possible for the teachers to arrange the work for the high school and the grammar grades so that each teacher could specialize, which would be of advantage to the high school as well as to the grammar school.

The session room I believe to be an essential feature of all schools below the college, and would therefore suggest that those high schools which have no session room give this matter serious consideration. Even the larger high schools have a work fully as important as class work that can keep the session-room teacher busy in developing the character and genius of the pupil.

CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL NOTES

Economic Subjects in Public Libraries The Boston Public Library is now making something of a specialty of economic, social and statistical material. Mr. Worthington C. Ford, formerly chief of the United States Treasury Bureau of Statistics, is in charge of that department of the Boston Library, and has recently received as an addition to his section the five thousand volumes of the American Statistical Association. Mr. Ford is preparing for the library a catalogue of all British parliamentary papers and United States congressional documents for recent years, likewise extensive notes of all important articles on economic and social topics in prominent monthly reviews and financial journals. Needless to say this will be an extremely valuable addition to the Boston Library, and also needless to say it reflects indirectly the fact that interest in these subjects is a constantly growing factor to be counted with by large library managements. In other words, the people are more and more realizing the serious importance of social-economic problems, and are seeking light upon them from authoritative sources. This is encouraging, because so far most of the popular economic education disseminated in this country has been through the mediocre authority of daily newspaper writers, to say nothing of the rattle-brained ravings of the yellow journals.

Reform in Grading of Schools We expect that Mr. Edward's article on "Better Division of Labor in Schools," published in this number, will attract wide attention. In the whole movement of educational reform throughout the country, few topics are exciting more interest at present than that of more scientifically

shaping school courses to the natural capacities and requirements of the child,—and this is essentially a question of grading. It is written upon in educational journals and discussed at teachers' institutes and summer schools by educational authorities, and is really one of the questions of the hour.

Mr. Edward's suggestion is that the method in use in the upper high schools, viz.: having one large session room presided over by a teacher whose functions are individual teaching, general discipline and character training, and a series of class rooms each with a teacher in one special subject, who hears all the classes in that subject from the lowest to the highest, be extended to the public-school system. This would do away with the ironclad system of grading whereby all the children take the same studies and at best can only have a slight variation in the time rate at which they finish the course. The Edwards plan would permit of taking as many or as few studies at a time as the child can properly handle, and thus, while perfect order is preserved in total system, each pupil's education is allowed to proceed along natural evolutionary lines. We await with interest the comment which Mr. Edward's article will call out from educational authorities, practical teachers, and parents who have had to face this often distressing problem.

We are glad to announce, by the way, that arrangements have been made for several other articles by Mr. Edwards on educational reform topics, which, when completed, will form a valuable series. Our readers will remember that the first contribution was on "Grave Evils in our Public School System," which appeared in our April number. The second, on "Reforms in our Public School System," appeared in July, and the article in this number forms the third in the series.

**Tenement House
Exhibition Next
December** In our department of "Letters from Correspondents" this month we publish a communication from the Charity Organization Society, announcing a Tenement House Exhibition, to be held in December. Among the subjects to be included in this exhibition are an exhaustive study of model tenements already existing in different cities of the United States, all of these being illustrated by plans, charts and photographs; a study of model tenements in foreign countries, similarly illustrated; a study of suburban tenements and workingmen's cottages, model lodging houses, public parks and playgrounds, libraries, baths, cooking classes, laundries, recreation piers, etc. The conditions prevailing in tenement house sections, as concerns density of population, death rate, nationality of tenants, their occupations, incomes, expenditures, recreations, sanitary condition of the buildings, and tenement house laws, will be graphically represented. There will be models of the old rookeries now existing in many of our cities, and of model tenements that could be put in their place.

This is an admirable way of stirring up interest in the tenement house problem, and we wish it all success. There is really no way of impressing upon legislators and boards of health the importance of wholesale condemnation of unfit residence buildings, and strict enforcement of sanitary laws relative thereto, except to create vigorous, active public sentiment on the matter. Politicians will yield to this in time. Party platforms will embody whatever measures seem to be backed by a preponderating demand of the voting population. Despite much that has been done already, the tendency, especially in this country, is to take it for granted that a reform once started goes on forever without further attention from anybody. In consequence, the good work lags, violations are tolerated or ignored, and no

vigorous crusade is maintained. It is even claimed that many of the so-called model tenements recently erected are grossly inadequate, and in some particulars hardly better than the old "double-deckers."

We wonder, by the way, why this exhibition does not include sweatshop conditions. The sweatshop is one of the prime evils connected with the whole tenement house problem, and cannot be ignored in any full consideration of the subject. The law passed last winter, while a long step forward, will not abolish the evil. It cannot be abolished so long as manufacturing is permitted in rooms on the same floor with residence rooms in any building, or reached by the same entrance. Moreover, the penalties should be made as explicit and automatic in their application as possible, and their enforcement not left to the judgment of police authorities or factory inspectors only. The agitation which this exhibition is intended to stimulate ought to include the sweatshop situation by all means.

**Education and
Youthful
Impudence**

Editor Kasson, of *Education*, in a late number of that periodical, makes very apt comment on the alarmist complaint against public schools recently launched by Miss Jane Addams, head of Hull House Settlement in Chicago. Miss Addams, says *Education*, "takes the field with the alarming intelligence that the school children of that metropolis are in danger of knowing more than their parents, and consequently, losing the filial respect and habit of obedience essential to the peace of the household and the welfare of society." Whereto Mr. Kasson rejoins that: "Our good Chicago lady seems just to have found out that for two hundred and fifty years the progressive side of the American people has been at work on just that line, to turn out every new generation in every respect superior to the last. As Jeffer-

son said, 'Educate the children, then the coming generations will be wiser than we, and many things impossible to us will be easy for them.'

Miss Addams is right on so many matters, particularly in sociology and the ethics of labor organization, that it seems curious she should have missed the point so completely as to the function of education. If it does not do in essence just what she charges it with doing, then it is a failure, at least in a progressive age and country. Probably the cause of her mistake lies in the fact, manifest to all observers, that contemporary American youth is endowed with rather an undue amount of bumptiousness, irreverance, impudence, and disrespect of authority. These unfortunate characteristics are the temporary products of our as yet half-formed and unsettled social conditions. They will disappear with the refining influences of time and more regular ordering of American economic and social life, just as the uncouth crudeness of the raw American fortune-builder disappears in his descendants after two or three generations of the modifying and cultivating environment to which wealth gives the *entree*. But the training and instruction imparted in schools is one of the very means whereby this evolution from the crude to the refined is accomplished. The remedy for offensive manners in American children is not less education, but a larger amount of attention devoted by those in charge of their instruction, *beginning with the kindergarten*, to those qualities of character, deportment, respectfulness and reserve of manner in social relations, which, whether in children or adults, are the stamp of refinement and the guaranty of a sincere welcome everywhere.

THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

Recognition of Labor Unions

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE.

Dear Sir:—We wish to say that we read all of your books with a great deal of interest. We find them in every way acceptable and reliable. In your August issue, we think from our own personal experience that your criticism of the Cleveland Street Car Line because of its refusal to recognize an organization without any reasons therefor was rather severe. We have ourselves been engaged in a strike at our coal mines commencing Monday of last week [Aug. 1st]. We never have in thirty years recognized these orders that seek to control largely the operation of our mines. On yesterday we took occasion to talk to the men and this morning every one has returned to his work and that without any recognition on our part. In the Cleveland case, if they had previously recognized them and made promises unto them then they were in duty bound to fulfil those promises, but in our case and in most cases these organizations seek to better, as they term it, the laborer at the expense of the employer, the chief purpose of which is to give support through dues collected to persons whose habits of industry are such that they are worthless except for a low calling of this order. On sound money, sound protec-

tive principles, liberal ideas of expansion and the general advancement of the country, your views are such that all should approve.

E. C. CAMP, Knoxville, Tenn.

Croker's Influence, Whence?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I can say "amen" to most of your article in September, on "The Secret of Croker's Influence;" still, I don't see that it is all due to republican indifference and none of it to the low character of the population. New York may have the most intelligent and decent population in the world, when you speak of the uptown and outlying sections, but how about the lower east and west sides? Most of the people there are uneducated foreigners, surrounded by degraded and immoral influences. They cannot appreciate any higher motives in politics than are presented to them by Tammany politicians, and they like to vote for men of about their own general level and character, regardless of the issues at stake. I do not see much hope of ousting Tammany in those sections until the whole character of the population is improved.

If the republicans really want to drive Croker out they can do it much sooner by practical measures than by merely preaching to the poor people and pretending to be their friends. Let that party or any other give us less immigration, more schools and kindergartens, more settlement societies, more parks and better streets, honest government; condemn bad tenements by the wholesale, and shut up the sweatshops. There are ways enough of doing these things, and the republicans could carry New York with the decent vote alone if it would make such a platform and stand on it. Then, in a few years, the population Croker now bamboozles would have got beyond his reach. H. R., New York.

Professor Bemis on Experimentation**Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,**

Dear Sir:—In your recent review of my "Municipal Monopolies," you state that I "continuously omit to mention, or apparently even to consider," the influence of "public ownership upon future experimentation and improvement." If you will turn to pages 571 and 670 you will find that I do consider this point. You have therefore done me an injustice, as you will at once be ready to recognize, although I may not have given as much emphasis to the point as you would like.

EDWARD W. BEMIS.

[We have referred to pages 571 and 670, and we recommend the reader to do the same; he will find nothing to justify Mr. Bemis's contention that he discussed the question of future experimentation. On the first page referred to it would be difficult for the reader to discover that any reference is made to the subject, and on the second it is not more than a passing mention. The reference to the subject is so slight and insignificant that we cannot admit that any injustice was done Mr. Bemis. The impression in reading the book is that this aspect of the subject is ignored. We frankly admit that technically it is not correct to say Mr. Bemis "omits to mention this phase of the subject," but it would be literally true to say that he barely mentions it in a passing reference. Substantially and for all the purposes of fair discussion, this phase of the subject, which is of vital importance, was omitted. In a subsequent letter Mr. Bemis informs us that he intends to investigate the subject further and develop his views later. In that case we hope he will give due consideration to this aspect of the matter.]

"The Man With the Hoe"

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE:

Dear Sir:—I notice that in the August Magazine you acknowledge the receipt of "The Man With the Hoe", but you express no opinion about it. I am disappointed in this, because I think the poem treats of very important economical and sociological questions. I am not competent to criticise it, but it seems to me to be absurdly pessimistic; pernicious in its teaching, because it infers that labor is ignoble and debasing; blasphemous, because it charges God with debasing a creature in His own image. The author seems to be ignorant of the laws of both sociology and evolution. Any race of men that needs no clothing nor shelter, and has to put forth no efforts for food, is the very lowest in the scales of moral, social and physical development. "By the sweat of thy face shalt thou earn thy bread", equivalent to the law of evolution, "struggle for existence", has been God's way of developing, not only the human race, but all animal life. Hence labor is developing, elevating, ennobling to mankind.

I cannot see what should make the poem so popular with some, only because it stoops to that maudlin sympathy for the poor which in recent years has been resorted to so much by demagogues to array them against all who are more prosperous in any way financially; and I can see no difference between the author and other demagogues only that he has expressed his absurd ideas in verse. But as so many praise the poem, I fear I misinterpret, and do not comprehend it. So I wish Mr. Gunton would give us his opinion of its merits from ethical, economical, sociological and evolutionary standpoints.

C. W. BENNETT, Coldwater, Michigan.

Trusts and Insurance

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Your August number contains some comment upon trusts and fire insurance, which places *Insurance Economics* in a wrong light. You comment upon the fact that the tendency of trusts to diminish the need for insurance cannot be urged as a public objection to industrial concentration. With this conclusion I entirely agree, but your comment makes it appear that we held the contrary opinion. The article in *Insurance Economics* upon which you base your comments stated among other things that "the concentration of industries, whether in the form of trusts or single great corporations, must stand or fall by the test of benefit or detriment to the community at large." It also said:

"Industrial centralization has come to stay and will grow and spread. The failure of those combines designed merely to inflate prices and float heavily watered stock, will check the movement for a time; but it will speedily recover. Larger and larger capitalization, greater and greater concentration, appear to be characteristic of the industrial world ever since the introduction of machinery early in the century. The outcry against machinery in its time was as great as the outcry against trusts, because it displaced labor; but to-day machinery, its constant extension and improvement, is looked upon as the one great feature of industrial progress. Eventually the larger centralization of industries, which we see to-day in a crude and undeveloped form, will in the same way be accepted as giving the greatest benefit to the greatest number, and the readjustments and displacements will be looked upon quite as much as a matter of course. We know that this is not the popular opinion, but fidelity to truth will compel anyone who studies the question without regard to special

interests, to at least record the fact that the movement toward industrial combination is not wholly a vicious and temporary one. The movement should be allowed to develop without hindrance or help from state legislation."

I dislike to allow a wrong impression to go out through your valued magazine concerning the position taken upon the trust question by this publication. As an insurance magazine we are bound to record the effects and influences of the trust movement upon fire insurance, as well as to recognize that immediate self-interest might cause underwriters to oppose industrial concentration; but the whole purpose of the article in question was to modify this opposition and to show the wisdom of allowing this new economic tendency to develop without legislative interference.

As you know, the majority of those engaged in any line of business look upon the tendencies and developments in other lines according to their first impulses of self-interest. Many fire underwriters thoughtlessly oppose concentration in the manufacturing industries for this reason, and on the other hand many manufacturers oppose the rating bureaus in fire insurance because they do not understand their economic tendencies. What we need in and between all lines of business is less prejudice and a deeper knowledge of economic law; a fact which I know you recognize as few do.

HENRY H. PUTNAM,
Publisher *Insurance Economics*, Boston, Mass.

Tenement House Exhibition

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—This Committee plans to hold some time in the winter of 1899 an exhibition which is to include every phase of the tenement house problem. It is

intended to place before the public in concrete form such information of the condition of the tenement houses in this city and other cities throughout the country that the community will be able to realize the importance and seriousness of such a condition of affairs as now exists.

As you are aware, there are at present over 44,000 tenement houses in the old city of New York, and new tenement houses are being erected at the rate of about 2,000 a year; these are in many respects worse than the old buildings erected thirty years ago; they are badly constructed, and so planned that many rooms depend for their light and air entirely upon long, narrow, dark air-shafts, which, instead of giving light and air, are merely stagnant wells emitting foul odors and disease.

It is the opinion of those familiar with the condition of tenement house life in this city, and of the best authorities in charitable affairs and penology, that much of the poverty and crime that we meet with in our large cities is due to the environment created by the tenement house; that it tends to produce immorality in young boys and girls; that it weakens the physical capacity of the tenants; that it breeds sickness and disease; that it makes decent domestic life very difficult, and that much of drunkenness is directly traceable to the inconvenience and unattractiveness of tenement homes.

The exhibition which we are planning is unique, and should have useful moral and practical results.

LAWRENCE VEILLER,
Secretary, Tenement House Committee,
Charity Organization Society.

QUESTION BOX

Expenses of Spanish and Philippine Wars

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Is there any way of telling accurately just what the war with Spain and present campaign in the Philippines have cost and are costing the government?

I. H. T., Brooklyn, N. Y.

The extra expense of the government on account of the Spanish war may be said to have begun in March, 1898. For some years previously the average monthly expenditures of the War Department had been about \$4,000,000 per month; of the Navy department about \$2,500,000 per month. Had this rate continued during the sixteen months from March 1898 to June 1899, inclusive, the total expenditures of both departments would have been about \$104,000,000. Actually, they were \$378,247,354.46, which is \$274,247,354.47 more than the assumed normal expenditure.

What Do Labor Unions Achieve?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I should appreciate the kindness if you would answer the following questions, or put me in the way of getting any information upon them:

1. What have labor unions accomplished in securing shorter hours and a minimum wage, and what has been the effect of these efforts on industry?
2. To how large an extent have labor unions made use of collective bargaining?

ROWLAND HAYNES,
Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.

Replying to your first question: labor unions have been very effective indeed in accomplishing shorter

hours. The ten hour law in England, adopted in 1847, was accomplished only partly by their efforts, but the extension of shorter hours to other industries than textile manufacture, and the nine and one-half hour law, were almost exclusively the result of trade union efforts. Probably not a single ten-hour law would have been on the statute books of any state but for the efforts of labor unions. That of Massachusetts was very largely aided by reformatory outside forces, but the shorter working day of all the individual trades, like the building trades, which have nine and in some cases eight hours, has been accomplished exclusively by the efforts of trade unions.

The effect on the minimum wage has been to raise it. In no industry where the hours of labor have been shortened have wages been lowered, and in almost all of them wages have been increased. The indirect effect of this upon industry has been to stimulate it, because it tends to increase and diversify the demand for products.

As to your second question, I take it that by collective bargaining you mean demanding certain wages, hours of labor or working conditions for the whole group, as weavers or shoemakers or what not. The extent to which this has been done is as wide as the whole influence of the laboring class. They never make use of any other than the collective method of bargaining. It is always at least for a shop or a factory, usually for a whole city, which not infrequently affects that industry in the entire country. For example, last spring the Fall River operatives asked for an increase of 12 per cent. in wages. The corporations were reluctant, and offered 6 per cent. The operatives refused, and the corporations feared a strike, which they did not want, and consequently conceded the demand for 12 per cent. This "collective bargain" was for Fall River, but it immediately became the bargain for the cotton operatives of New England.

Restriction of Immigration

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I have long believed, as you do, that the salvation of the laboring classes lies in the restriction of immigration. What progress has been made in this direction? What are the probabilities as to when an effective immigration bill will be passed? I would be pleased if you would kindly answer these queries through your magazine or your bulletin; or, if you prefer, answer me direct. I beg to take this opportunity to compliment you on the excellence of your publications.

FRANK J. ZORN, Chicago, Ill.

Perhaps you misinterpret us a little if you take our position to be that the *whole* salvation of the laboring class depends on restriction of immigration. We have never failed to emphasize the importance of such a measure, but it is not by any means the only thing needed for the improvement of labor conditions in this country. Among the other measures we are constantly urging to the fore are: adoption of a ten-hour law, a national system of labor insurance, abolition of sweat-shops, legal and moral recognition of trade unions, formation of mutual labor and capitalist unions for the discussion of all industrial disputes before action is taken on either side, etc.

There is a sense, however, in which the problem of immigration underlies many of these others in a very vital way. For instance, there is not much hope of permanently rooting out the slums of great cities so long as we permit an uninterrupted tide of inferior and semi-pauper population to replenish the slums from the bottom. In the same way it is ineffective policy to throw the whole burden of making good and intelligent citizenship upon our public schools when we are adding annually as much ignorance to the country as the schools

eliminate. Likewise, much of the farmers' trouble comes from the low standards established by "squatters" from the south of Europe, who take up small farms here and there throughout the country, depress the standard of living and prices below what our normal civilization would establish, and spend almost nothing in this country.

The progress that has already been made in restricting immigration is inconsiderable. Of course, the Chinese are excluded, and likewise paupers and criminals, and there are certain other restrictions as to character and probable capacity for self-support on the part of immigrants. But the interpretation and enforcement of these rests largely with the immigration officials, and one has only to watch the shiploads of incoming foreigners to realize that the standard is so low as practically to deter nobody from trying, at least, to come in, and with a fair chance of success.

As to when an effective immigration bill will be passed, we do not possess the special gifts of divination necessary to answer that question. Restrictive measures have been demanded and advocated for years, but we have as yet got no farther than the Lodge educational test bill, which passed the Senate and has never been heard of since. It is safe to say, however, that until a much more vigorous agitation and concentrated demand from all parts of the country arises nothing will be done. The real problem, therefore, is to keep on demanding the reform, pushing it the front, creating public sentiment for it. The present period of prosperity is just the time for urging the matter anew, because we are already beginning to have a great increase in the number of undesirable immigrants, attracted here by the business boom.

BOOK REVIEWS

ANGLO-SAXON SUPERIORITY; TO WHAT IT IS DUE.
By Edmond Demolins. Translated from the Tenth
French Edition, by Louis Bert. Lavigne. Cloth, 343
pp. \$1.00. R. F. Fenno & Company, New York.

This is a very remarkable book. It is remarkable in that it treats the subject of Anglo-Saxon superiority from a scientific and sociological standpoint, and it is quite as remarkable in that it is written by a Frenchman. It is a comprehensive treatment of the subject with the evident purpose of pointing out not merely that the Anglo-Saxons are superior as organizers and civilizers, but also to explain why the French nation is falling into decay. It is entirely free from cheap sentiment, and treats only of fact.

The author reviews the German and French methods of education,—lays great stress on the fact that the character of the people is really shaped in the schools. After discussing at some length a recent speech of the Emperor of Germany that the schools have failed, and his demand for a change of direction and purpose in the national education, so as to make the young men's chief ambition to sustain the dynasty and military power of Germany, the author shows with great force that this not in the line of progress, and draws the attention of Frenchmen to their own country. This is the really interesting and important feature of the book; first, because he is at home on the subject, and second, he is frankly pointing out the defects of his own country. His descriptions, if made by an Englishman or German, might well be discredited. They reveal what sociologists, and in fact all students of society, perceive at once to be adequate cause of the present national prejudice and even bigoted spirit of France.

His detailed analysis of the national habit of France to cling tenaciously to the old Roman idea that industry is degrading, that the only honorable occupations are in the army or the government service, or perchance in the liberal professions, is convincing. He says:

"But there is another cause, namely, the aversion shown by the French for independent callings—agriculture, industrial pursuits, commerce. These professions are not sought after; we prefer administrative positions. All our young men rush to the government schools, and the crush at the doors is general. This is no exaggeration. Every Frenchman who may have made a little money as a farmer, a manufacturer or a merchant, has no brighter dream than to retire and make his son an officer or an official, or launch him into one of the liberal professions." To be a member of the civil or military administration, he added, is the dream of nearly all Frenchmen. It is the means of gaining recognition, of marrying well, and of penetrating into society.

This paternal type of industrial habit which makes every one lean on the government for a job,—a large majority of the positions being in the army,—naturally leads the French people to look to the army as the great power in their nation. "Long live the Army!" is the Frenchman's way of expressing his patriotism, when in reality the army represents the poorest type of civilization. He looks to the army because it is the great source of prospective jobs, and holds any reflection on the army as a reflection on France. So it has come that the sentiment of the nation really rests on the conception that the integrity and morale, or at least the reputation, of the army must be sustained at all hazards. The recent disgraceful trial and conviction of Captain Dreyfus is the legitimate outcome of this paternal de-individualizing national system.

Our author brings to bear such an abundance of evi-

dence to sustain this general view that he makes it little short of conclusive. He says: "We are apt to believe and to teach the young generations that everything is dated from the Revolution of 1789. Meanwhile, we do not perceive that the world is going on, and going on without us."

In proof of the general proposition that the French nation is actually degenerating, not merely standing still, he cites extensive statistics of births and deaths, covering the period from 1770 to 1896, showing that the number of births per 10,000 inhabitants in France has steadily declined. In 1770-80 there were 380 births to each 10,000 inhabitants; the number gradually declined to 220 in 1880-1896,—a diminution of more than one-third. In 1890 there were 42,520 fewer births than in 1889, and the falling off had been increasing every year; there were 99,885 fewer births in 1890 than in 1883. Of the marriages his statistics show a similar state of affairs. In 1884 there were 289,555 marriages. This number grew less and less each year until in 1890 there were only 269,332, a diminution of 20,223 marriages in six years. Another indication of decadence is the increase in the death rate. In 1881 there were 828,828 deaths. The number increased every year and in 1890 there were 876,505. In all other civilized countries the facts indicate a reverse movement; marriages and births increasing and death rate diminishing.

M. Demolins then turns to the Anglo-Saxon for the contrast. He describes with great minuteness the marked difference in the individual, or, as he calls it, particularistic method of education in England. He had evidently spent some time in Edinburgh and made careful study of the conditions in and surrounding that city. Speaking of the French farm laborer he says: "You know how a farm labourer is lodged in France.

When he does not sleep on the straw in a shed, or in a poor bed in the stable, he has the most miserable room to which to retire." This will be appreciated when we realize, as it is difficult for Americans to do, that many of the French farmers themselves are not much better housed. They are so bred to the idea of economy, saving and not spending, that they are clad and housed not much better than the laborers themselves. On this topic the author says: "I do not mean the farmer of the south or center of France, nor even the Breton farmer, whose way of living does not differ materially from that of his labourers; I select the farmer of Normandy—a rich country. . . . He dresses like our peasants, in a blue blouse, save on market days, when he goes to the town, and wears clothes patched and dirty enough to please the most fastidious. In style his wife matches him, washes her own linen at a public fountain, and in costume, manner and conversation does not differ from the maid in the farmyard. The inside of the dwelling is in harmony with the inmates. The whole of the family life is spent in a large room, whose floor is on a level with the farmyard, and overlooks it; the walls, badly white-washed, are bare. The only furniture consists of a long straight table, in appearance like a plank placed on a couple of trestles; masters and servants eat at this table, without a tablecloth. Round the table are a few benches in keeping with the table. There are three or four odd, badly-stuffed chairs. The kitchen range is in this room, and so is the sink. That is all. I do not give this description as an isolated one; it is, on the contrary, that of the most common French farmer type, and every one of my readers has been able to observe it a hundred times."

In contrast to this, he describes the English, or rather Scotch farm laborers, as having little cottages and flower gardens, and representing the maximum

neatness. To anyone familiar with the condition of the English agricultural laborer the contrast presented by our author reveals a degree of squalor among the French peasants otherwise inconceivable.

The lot of the English agricultural laborer is wretched indeed, and any condition to which they can be compared as luxurious must beggar description. M. Demolins' details of the form and type of the English cottage are, in the main, accurate, and his enthusiasm over their superiority should be viewed not from the American standpoint, from which they would appear very low, but only as indicating the relative degradation of the French.

On page 118 he gives the pay of the English farm laborer as 95 shillings per month, which is nearly 24 shillings (\$6.00) a week. This does not represent the average English agricultural laborer's wages. Our author must have met some exceedingly fortunate ones. It is true in England, as everywhere else, that the wages of farm laborers are much higher around large cities, but even there they do not range higher than from 16 to 18 shillings per week, while in the agricultural sections, remote from large cities, the farm laborer's wages range from 10 to 12 shillings per week. In Cambridgeshire, and the southern counties generally, farm wages are at present 10 to 12 shillings per week. But his description of the neatness, the flower gardens etc., is really typical of the English laborer.

The author's study has led him to perceive a fact which few sociologists have noted, or, if noted, only incidentally, that the habit of saving begets the habit of not spending, and that in proportion as a people for whatever cause decline to spend they fail to progress. The habit of penuriousness begets contentment with low conditions, poor food, poor homes, meagre furniture, lack of sanitation, and ultimately indifference to refinement,

and acceptance of squalor and barbarism as the normal state. He remarks that: "The English workman, unlike the French, saves but little; he spends about all he earns. To better his position, he counts less on his saving power than on an increase in his returns through promotion to a higher grade in his calling. . . . Among us, on the contrary, the ruling faculty is economy and foresight; we do not rise or progress in any way except by dint of restricting our needs and reducing our expenditure."

This is true economic doctrine and good political philosophy. On the whole, M. Demolins has written a remarkable book. It should be read by English-speaking people quite as much as by Frenchmen. It throws interior economic light on the real causes which have led to the deterioration of the French national character. It is the more significant because it is written by a Frenchman, who it is evident at once is a scientist and a lover of France, and has written not to belittle France but to stimulate improvements in her methods and create new incentives in her leaders for a change of policy which shall turn her feet into the path of progress ere it is too late. It is clear to our author, as it is becoming clear to the civilized world, that unless France does something to correct the decaying tendencies in her economic, social and political life she cannot escape the fate that has overtaken Spain for similar reasons, and must ere long be placed in the category of effete nations.

ALASKA AND THE KLONDIKE. By Angelo Heilprin, F.R.G.S., F.G.S.A. Illustrated. Cloth, 315 pp. \$1.75. D. Appleton and Company, New York.

The sub-title of Professor Heilprin's book describes as "A Journey to the New Eldorado. With Hints to the Traveller and Observations on the Physical History

and Geology of the Gold Regions, the Condition of and Methods of Working the Klondike Placers, and the Laws Governing and Regulating Mining in the Northwest Territory of Canada." At the outset we must compliment the illustrations in this volume. They are as excellent as they are abundant, and, following as they do the order of a journey throughout that region, present an even more vivid description and exact impression of the country than the text of any book could possibly do.

It is a little unfortunate that this book was written before the current dispute over the Canada-Alaska boundary line reached its present acuteness, because a geographer making a special journey through all that country for the purpose of scientific exploration, as did Professor Heilprin, would have been able to collect important data bearing on the merits of the dispute. As it is, the mass of evidence entering into official negotiations on the subject is so contradictory that it seems doubtful if even the diplomats themselves are confident of their ground in the matter, while the average student of the subject turns from it in bewilderment.

There can be no question of the utility of this volume to anyone contemplating a trip to the Klondike regions. Professor Heilprin describes in detail the routes, the experiences one must expect to encounter, the ways and means of overcoming obstacles in that wild and unregulated country, the local regulations governing placer mining, staking out of claims, etc., and a careful description of the geology of the gold fields and their physical history.

To the general reader, perhaps the most interesting chapters are those dealing with the social conditions prevailing in the Klondike region, particularly in and about Dawson. In the late summer of 1898 his bill for lodging was \$35 per week, while a room for one night

cost \$6.50. Board ranged from \$25 to \$35 a week. Fresh cow's milk cost \$60 a gallon, oranges and lemons 75 cents apiece, doubtful eggs \$2.50 per dozen, watermelons \$25, cucumbers \$5 each, brooms ranged from \$4 to \$14 apiece, chickens \$10 each, though a little earlier in the season the price had been \$100 for three. Two weeks before his arrival hay was selling at \$1,200 a ton. Of course the tendency of prices at Dawson is steadily downward in proportion as population grows and communication with the outside world becomes more easy and frequent. The conditions are similar to those which prevailed in California in the 40's and 50's, and are, of course, wholly abnormal. In the face of such prices as we have quoted, it is quite plain that although wages, as reported by Professor Heilprin, of ordinary unskilled labor amount to \$8 or \$10 a day, the laborer's surplus at the end of the week would be infinitesimal.

This is an illustration of the economic truism that the material welfare of workingmen depends not upon the nominal but the real wages. The cost of living is as important as the rate per day. Hence the absurdity of quoting the Klondike regions as an instance of the high wages that can be earned "where all natural opportunities are freely thrown open to all who may come." Were it not for the chance possibility of "striking it rich," which draws the adventurers to Alaska, the condition of people working there now at \$8 or \$10 a day would be mightily inferior to that of ordinary factory operatives in a New England town. Moreover, in estimating the relative advantages of different civilizations, one must take into account all the social conditions, environments and opportunities, no less even than the real wages earned by the people. Considering this, the absurdity of contrasting such places as the Klondike, Australia, South Africa and the Philippines with the homes of regulated industry in the most advanced por-

tions of the United States becomes the more glaring. For those who are willing to take enormous risks in the hope of gaining enormous wealth, these raw and undeveloped portions of the earth will always hold out big attractions, but so far as concerns the great mass of the laboring people whose lives must be lived under ordinary and non-venturesome conditions, the best the world has to offer is at the points of the highest and most complex industrial civilization, and not in the backwoods or the wilderness.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

ECONOMICS

Elements of Economics of Industry. By Alfred Marshall, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Cambridge; Honorary Fellow, Balliol College, Oxford. Third Edition. Cloth, 421 pp., \$1.00 net. 1899. The Macmillan Company, New York and London. This is a revised edition of Professor Marshall's condensation of his excellent work, "Principles of Economics."

CIVICS

The Government of Municipalities. By Hon. Dorman B. Eaton. Cloth, 8vo, 498 pp., \$4.00 net. The Macmillan Company, New York and London. This is a statement of the great municipal problems of the present day, and suggestions of practical methods in aid of their solution.

BIOGRAPHICAL

Life of William Ewart Gladstone. By Justin McCarthy. Cloth, crown 8vo, 516 pp., \$3.50. The Macmillan Company, New York and London. This is a new and cheap edition of the Life of Gladstone, which appeared serially in the *Outlook*. The author's peculiar qualifications for writing such a work, and the exceptional excellence and abundance of the illustrations, make this a specially authoritative and attractive volume.

CULLED FROM SEPTEMBER MAGAZINES

In the *North American Review* for September "A Diplomat" attempts "A Vindication of the Boers," replying to Mr. Sidney Brooke's statement of the case against them. "A Diplomat" apparently thinks he is making a strong point against the English demand for citizenship in the Transvaal when he says: "When the English demand representation in the Boer Parliament, they do so with the intention, not of satisfying a whim, but of modifying the legislation of the Transvaal in a way to make it meet their views." Of course. What else does anybody want representation for if not to affect legislation, and, if the principle of democracy be conceded, what is the moral criticism of English demand for the franchise ?

In the September *Forum*, some "Friend of General Henderson" addresses "A Word to the Next Speaker", putting the difficulties of the position in very pointed language. "The autocratic methods inaugurated by Speaker Reed," he says, "were endured because . . . he was so masterly that mutiny was discouraged in its very inception. He ruled with a rod of iron. . . . But you, General Henderson, are not of the same mould as Mr. Reed . . . and the indisputed sway accorded to Mr. Reed will not be transferred to you. . . . And yet, in the main, if you desire to preserve discipline and retain management, you must be as autocratic and as dogmatic as your predecessor." This is the sober truth. It is to be hoped that General Henderson has the discernment to appreciate it and the backbone to act upon it. He cannot be so powerful a regulating force, individually; but at least there should be no relaxation of the "Reed rules" by which only it has been possible to transact business effectively in the House.



GEORGE HARRIS, D. D., LL.D.

PRESIDENT AMHERST COLLEGE

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

**Commerce
and Industry
Conventions**

The National Export Exposition held in Philadelphia in September, followed by the International Commercial Congress whose sessions have not yet terminated, are signs of the abundant and expanding industrial life of the nation. They illustrate the familiar social law that, with nations as well as individuals, experiences come first, and thought and discussion about the experiences follow. In this case the experience has been such an expansion of business activity that our industry has overleaped national bounds and is actively entering important markets all over the world.

**Some Dangers
Involved**

As in the case of all good things, however, there is some danger of letting the situation run away with us, and, in the new enthusiasm of foreign trade, forgetting certain principles upon which the real social and industrial greatness of the nation rests. For instance, among the addresses at the International Commercial Congress, none attracted more interest than those demanding the open door in China, and naturally the opportunity was seized by the Chinese Minister to demand, as a proper and just reciprocal concession, that our Chinese exclusion laws be abandoned and the door opened to Chinese labor in return for the open door in China for American commodities. Important and desirable as the growth of foreign trade may be, whenever it comes up against a question of maintaining the labor and social standards of our own people a halt must be sharply called. The

true principle should be, first to maintain our own industrial integrity, and then, branching out from that, secure whatever new business may be had, but never to barter the one for the other. We can never afford to sell the American birthright of high wages and superior social conditions for any mess of foreign trade pottage, however tempting.

**Money
Stringency**

The tightness of money caused by the pressure of these extraordinary business conditions upon the monetary system of

the country is not surprising, even though the actual amount in circulation was never before so large. So serious is the stringency that the secretary of the treasury has decided to take the unusual step of prepaying interest on government bonds, as far in advance as June 30th next, at a discount of 2-10 of 1 per cent. per month. This, of course, is for the purpose of distributing some of the accumulation lying idle and useless in the sub-treasury. It is another illustration of the utter ineffectiveness and inelasticity of our banking and currency system. At a time like the present, if we had a scientific banking system whereby the banks were free to issue notes to the extent of business demands, subject always to daily coin redemption, and the government funds were deposited either in a national bank or a system of federated banks, no such stringency could be possible. It is an acute reminder to the coming congress that our present ironclad banking system is not good enough merely because it is safe and sound. Unless something is done to make it more elastic and business-like, our notion that the free silver and fiat money craze is forever buried may soon prove to be a vain delusion.

**Competitors
of the Trusts**

The trust situation is presenting rather a novel aspect. The mad rush of last spring to organize great combinations has passed over, and now the most notable development is the rise of outside competition. The independent refiners, Arbuckle, Mollenhauer and others, are meeting practically every move of their big competitor, and stay in the market with no sign of weakening. The bicycle trust, which reorganized lately and greatly reduced its capital stock, is now encountering competition from what is practically a rival trust, composed of three important manufacturing companies in the West. Meanwhile, there is a fierce conflict on between the Carnegie and Rockefeller interests in the ore-carrying trade on the Great Lakes. In New York City the war inaugurated some months ago between the various gas companies continues; there are not even rumors of a "getting together." One of the largest former competitors of the American Tobacco Company has just been reorganized in New York state, with a capital of \$4,000,000, and this is believed to be the forerunner of a consolidation of several strong concerns into what will probably be one large corporation to fight the so-called tobacco "trust."

**A Farmer's
Trust**

But if the organization tendency *per se* is a little slack in manufacturing industries, it seems to be just beginning in agriculture. A farmers' organization of \$20,000,000 capital, incorporated in Kansas, with a membership scattered over twenty-one western states and territories, has been formed for the purpose of controlling shipments, adjusting supply to demand, and in other ways reducing the production and sale of agricultural products as nearly as possible to the same precision, accuracy, and therefore immunity from losses and excessive

fluctuations in output and returns, that have been accomplished in manufacturing industries by this same method.

**St. Louis
Conference a
Fizzie**

It is fairly astonishing, the amount and intensity of public interest on this trust question; and the healthy feature of the situation is that public sentiment is no longer all on one side but is rapidly approaching at least an equal division on the subject. The attitude of the workingmen's representatives at the Chicago trust conference was a real eye-opener. With the labor organizations ranged on the side of large capitalistic integration, it does seem as if the bottom was about to drop out of the whole anti-trust agitation. In further confirmation of this, witness the ludicrous fizzie of the St. Louis anti-trust conference. It was supposed to consist of the governors and attorneys-general of all the states, but actually only eleven states were represented. Nearly all the addresses were three-fourths political harangue, the resolutions were rhetorical buncombe, and the whole affair exercised no appreciable influence whatever upon public opinion.

**Bryan and
Expansion**

The democratic leader has practically dropped the silver issue and is devoting his attention to trusts and "expansion."

Chairman Jones, of the democratic national committee, assures us that Bryan will be renominated and that "all good democrats will be with Mr. Bryan next year." There may be more truth than bluff in this claim. With the silver issue side-tracked it really seems probable that the gold democrats largely will return to their party ranks on the issue of anti-expansion. Mr. Bryan is making the most of his opportunities on this issue, and so is candidate McLean, who is running for governor of Ohio. On the other hand, President McKin-

ley in his recent tour through Illinois, Wisconsin and Dakota was increasingly explicit in declaring the government's intention to hold the Philippines permanently at any cost. Therefore the issue is becoming sharply drawn.

**The Reception
to Admiral Dewey**

Nothing has ever been seen in this country quite like the reception accorded to Admiral Dewey at New York, Washington, Boston and other points where he has appeared in public since his return to the United States. The reception in New York was unprecedented in size, magnificence and quality of popular enthusiasm, while that at Washington was equally unprecedented in the character of the official ceremonies and recognition accorded him. Both the naval parade of Friday, September 29th, and the military parade of Saturday, at New York, were unique, for the present generation at least, as being tributes to a national hero just returning from the scene of his great victory. Unexampled as all this was, however, it appears not in the slightest degree to have turned the Admiral's head. In this respect he lives up to the impressions formed of him throughout the nation and justifies the exalted regard in which he is held. His reply to the greeting extended by the mayor of New York upon his arrival was thoroughly characteristic:

"Of course it would be needless for me to attempt to make a speech, but my heart appreciates all that you have said. How it is that you have overrated my work so much I cannot understand. It is beyond anything that I can conceive of why there should be such an uprising of the country. I simply did what any naval captain in the service would have done, I believe."

**Not a
Presidential
Aspirant**

Admiral Dewey has been relieved from sea duty, and for the present at least will serve in an advisory capacity concerning Philippine affairs. Naturally, his presidential availa-

bility is urged in many quarters, but, speaking from a purely personal point of view, it would be a regrettable thing if the Admiral should yield to any such pressure. Already he stands far higher in public estimation throughout the nation than he ever could should he descend to the strife and animosities of a partisan contest and become a candidate for office, even the presidency. To-day he stands without an enemy, practically without a critic, the hero of the whole nation, the typical American. This is far better and will assure him a stronger and safer place in history than to be the successful leader in any political campaign or identified with anything less than the national character.

**Three New
College
Presidents**

Within a week's time three of the leading educational institutions of New England, —Yale, Brown and Amherst, have inaugurated new presidents under most favorable auspices. George Harris became president of Amherst College on October 11th; W. H. P. Faunce took the reins of office at Brown University on the 17th, and Arthur Twining Hadley was inaugurated the thirtieth president of Yale University on the 18th. Dr. Harris comes from Andover Theological Seminary, and his inaugural address was a conspicuously able presentation of the duty of the man of letters in a democracy. The major part of this address is reprinted, by special permission, in our Civics and Education Department this month. Dr. Faunce was formerly pastor of the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church in New York City, while Dr. Hadley's educational associations and connection have always been with Yale. The inauguration of Dr. Hadley, by the way, probably marks a new departure in the administrative policy of Yale, in the direction of a more practical trend of student training; and the same will doubtless occur at Amherst if Dr. Harris puts his

strikingly progressive and somewhat radical propositions into practice.

**Operations
in the
Philippines**

Following Admiral Dewey's recommendations, another strong squadron, including the Brooklyn, Marietta and Machias, is to be dispatched to the Philippines. The situation there remains practically as it has been for some months. Our forces make raids from Manila as a center, inflict "punishment" upon various rebel outposts, and then retire, while the insurgents promptly re-occupy the towns and villages thus abandoned. In Panay, the city of Iloilo is threatened with an attack from 12,000 insurgent Visayans under General Magbanna. The surprising staying power of the Luzon insurgents seems to be chiefly a matter of successful management of resources. For instance, it is reported that Aguinaldo has recently ordered his soldiers in certain of the northern provinces to return to their farms, presumably to be recalled after the harvesting of crops. In addition, the rebel leader seems to have had little difficulty in communicating with the Chinese mainland and obtaining arms and ammunition. It was to stop this, chiefly, that Admiral Dewey recommended the sending of a new fleet to the islands. Just the other day, however, Aguinaldo's cousin stole some \$80,000 which he had been charged with conveying to Hong Kong to buy supplies. This will seriously cripple the insurgents; and coupled with it comes the report that one of the insurgent generals, Pio del Pilar, has made overtures to General Otis, offering to betray the cause of his leader for half a million dollars, or to surrender his own army for half that sum. But it is inconceivable that our authorities should take advantage of any such offer from a Filipino Benedict Arnold. Whatever might be admissible in an ordinary war, it certainly would not

add to the moral justification of this conflict to obtain subjugation of the islands by a bribe-purchased betrayal of the native army.

Sulu Slavery An example of the complications we are getting into is afforded by the official arrangement made with the so-called "sultan" of the Sulu Islands, part of the Philippines, by which that potentate's rule is acknowledged and a salary paid him, while the existence of slavery is officially recognized and permitted, in the following convention: "Any slave in the archipelago is given the right to purchase his freedom by paying his owner the sum of \$20.00." In the same agreement occurs this provision: "The sovereignty of the United States over the entire Sulu archipelago is acknowledged." Alongside this put the thirteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime where the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

Now it is very likely that arbitrarily to abolish slavery in this savage group would be impracticable, at least for some time to come. At the same time, the arrangement is clearly in direct violation of our constitution. The complication simply illustrates the fact that our institutions are utterly unadapted both in principle and practice to the control of tropical, semi-savage races requiring government of a type several whole cycles below the era of democracy.

**Venezuela
Boundary
Decision**

On October 3d the Anglo-Venezuela arbitration commission rendered its decision on the question of the disputed boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana. The boundary determined is somewhat of a compromise and

follows quite nearly the old "Schomburgk Line" of 1839. This line was for a long time the extreme limit of England's claim, and hence the decision may be in a sense considered a British victory; although in recent years that claim had been extended considerably farther into the gold regions of Venezuela. At any rate, it forever puts to rest this vexatious dispute which has several times come near involving great nations in war. Moreover, it is an important victory for the principle of arbitration and confirms the position taken by the United States, that the Monroe Doctrine must apply to this case.

The Boer Ultimatum For a week previous to the 10th of October all signs pointed away from the outbreak of hostilities between England and the Transvaal. There was a strong disposition in England to prolong the diplomatic controversy almost indefinitely, in the hope of finally winning, rather than disturb industry and finance by an unnecessary foreign war. The British government, on September 25th, had submitted to the Transvaal a reassertion of England's demands for a five-year franchise, recognition of the English language, etc., to which no reply was vouchsafed, until suddenly, without warning, and to the astonishment of Christendom, on October 10th President Kruger returned a peremptory ultimatum, demanding that all points of difference between the two countries be submitted to arbitration, that all British troops on the borders of the Transvaal be instantly withdrawn, that all British reinforcements that had reached South Africa since June 1st be transported from the country, and that no troops on their way to South Africa be landed. This concluded with the statement that unless a satisfactory reply was received by five o'clock of the next day it would be considered a formal declaration of

war. Of course the British government declined to accede to these demands. Therefore, since the 11th of October, hostilities have been on.

**War
Begins**

The Orange Free State promptly cast its lot with the Transvaal. Thus the struggle takes on the aspect of a race war to determine whether the Dutch or English shall be the supreme power in South Africa. The Boers promptly took the initiative by crossing the border into Natal and occupying Laing's Nek. The campaign in this direction contemplated the seige of several important points in Natal, conspicuously Harrismith and Ladysmith, thence pushing on to the port of Durban, the capture of which would seriously interfere with the landing of British supplies in that quarter. But already the Boer advance has been checked by a severe defeat at Glen-coe Junction, October 20th. Their army of 6,000 is in full retreat, having lost several hundred men and nearly all its artillery. On the West the Boers promptly laid seige to Mafeking, on the line of the Cape to Cairo Railroad, and have been raiding various points along the road and burning bridges. They have not succeeded in gaining any important vantage-point, but have been repulsed from Mafeking several times with considerable loss.

The British liberal and tory parties are practically united in support of the government now, although the liberals have heretofore been strongly opposed to a force policy toward the Boers. An army credit of £10,000,-000 has been voted with little opposition. In the United States public sympathy is overwhelmingly on the English side, because of the feeling that they, and not the Boers, really represent the justice of the case and the interests of advancing democratic civilization.

RAILWAYS AND INDUSTRIAL COMBINATION

H. T. NEWCOMB

A careful investigation of the great industrial combinations popularly grouped under the indefinite and misleading nominative "trusts" will probably result in the conviction that these combinations may be grouped, with respect to their economic bases, in two classes, the essential characteristics of which are respectively suggested by the words "natural" and "artificial."

Those combinations may be considered natural which are based upon a definite gain in the efficiency of the productive or distributive instrumentalities employed, either through the greater effectiveness of enlarged machinery or the superiority of the organization and of the administrative methods made possible by centralized control. Industries vary greatly in the particulars which determine the size at which maximum efficiency can be attained under centralized management. Those in which the state of conformity to the law of increasing returns persists, until an organization in which capital and labor obtain approximately the maximum return per unit can supply a large portion of the demand, tend, within the limits of size so established, toward combination. Such combinations increase the productive power of society and are therefore eco-

nomically justified. Whatever may be the conclusion as to their ethical consequences, there can be no successful refutation of the claim that they tend toward the improvement of the economic condition of mankind.

On the other hand the fundamental observation in regard to those combinations the causes of which are artificial is that they do not add to the aggregate productivity of labor and capital. The size of such combinations exceeds that at which maximum efficiency is attained and while there may be minor economies, particularly in distribution, they are more than balanced by the inevitable losses sustained as the result of having enlarged the industrial organization until it has become subject to the law of diminishing returns. A combination of this character may be formed on account of a misconception on the part of the *entrepreneur* of the real nature of the industry combined, or because the latter perceives an opportunity to secure illegitimate gains through the manipulation of the corporate securities created and is sufficiently unscrupulous to profit by it. In either of these cases the combination must ultimately fall of its own weight, and whatever losses are experienced must accrue to those who have been so unwise as to adventure their capital in an inevitably unprofitable enterprise.

Other artificial combinations, however, are based upon special privileges or advantages which prevent competition upon equal terms and can be sustained as long as such special privileges are continued. The possession of the exclusive right to use especially efficient machinery may enable a particular group of individuals to control a given market even though others who wish to engage in the same industry are more capable, energetic, and have superior facilities in every respect except that of the necessary machinery. Such an advantage is temporarily accorded to inventors and

their legal successors by the patent laws and is supposed to be justified by the incentive which it gives to the development and exercise of inventive skill. It is urged, in many quarters, that the advantage accorded to domestic producers by tariff restrictions upon international trade gives a similar opportunity for artificial combination, but, while this is probably categorically true, it does not militate against the policy of such restrictions, for, if it is well to compel domestic consumers to use the products of domestic industry, there can be no economic objection to permitting the most efficient organization possible within the supplying region thus limited.

As industry is now organized, few if any communities are economically independent. Nearly every region produces some particular commodity in an amount not justified by the demands of local consumers and depends upon the exchange of the surplus for necessities or luxuries which it does not produce and either could not produce at all or only with great difficulty.

The specialization of industry is a development of the nineteenth century and would have been impracticable without the parallel development of modern means of transportation, particularly that of the steam railway. It is quite obvious that if a particular individual or group of individuals is able to obtain transportation at lower rates than those generally exacted, the favored individual or group of individuals will possess an advantage against which rivals may be unable to contend. If such an advantage is arbitrary, that is, not based upon actual differences which pertain to the respective services performed, it is unjust and improper.

Hon. Martin A. Knapp, who as one of the members of the U. S. interstate commerce commission, and later as chairman of that body, has devoted years

to the study of railway discrimination and its causes and results, has expressed some of his conclusions in the following words:

"The ultimate effect of preferential rates is to concentrate the commerce of the country in a few hands. The favored shipper, who is usually the large shipper, is furnished with a weapon against which skill, energy and experience are alike unavailing. When the natural advantages of capital are augmented by exemptions from charges commonly imposed it becomes powerful enough to force all rivals from the field. If we could unearth the secrets of those modern "trusts" whose surprising exploits excite such wide apprehension, we should find an explanation of their menacing growth in the systematic methods by which they have evaded the burdens of transportation. The reduced charges which they have obtained, sometimes by favoritism and oftener by force, account in great measure for the colossal gains which they have accumulated. This is the sleight of hand by which the marvel has been produced, the key to the riddle which has amazed and alarmed the nation. If these combinations were deprived of their special and exclusive rates there is little doubt that they would be shorn of their greatest strength and lose their dangerous supremacy. Indeed, I think it scarcely too much to say that no alliance of capital, no aggregation of productive forces would prove of real or at least of permanent disadvantage if rigidly subjected to just and impartial charges for public transportation."

Those who perceive in unjust railway discrimination a cause of undesirable industrial combination will prefer to remove the cause rather than to apply a remedy directly to the result which may destroy desirable as well as undesirable combinations.

The superficial answer to the inquiry as to the means of preventing unjust discrimination in railway charges is to prohibit it and provide a penalty for those who violate the prohibitory statute. This answer received legislative sanction early in the present decade and since 1890 it has been illegal to make or to accept any concession from the open rates established and published in accordance with the interstate commerce law. Both the railway official and the shipper participating in any deviation from these equal and public rates have been liable to punishment by fine and imprisonment,

yet the law has been notoriously and almost openly violated during almost the entire period, and the penitentiary doors have never yet opened to receive an individual convicted of granting or receiving an unfair advantage of this character.

Unjust discriminations among individuals were never more serious in their consequences than since the passage of the interstate commerce law, which, though unquestionably intended mainly to prevent them, attempted also to perpetuate competition among rival railway routes. Discriminating rates constitute, however, one of the ordinary and most effective weapons of railway competition, and it cannot be regarded as in any way surprising that this attempt to perpetuate a cause—competition—while at the same time prohibiting its result—discrimination—should have proved wholly futile. In the words of the present chairman of the interstate commerce commission:

" . . . the choice lies between competition on the one hand, with the inevitable outcome of discriminations which favor the few at the expense of the many, or like charges for like service, which can be realized only by permitting and encouraging co-operative action by rival railroads. *The power to compete is the power to discriminate*, and it is simply out of the question to have at once the absence of discrimination and the presence of competition."

The interstate commerce commission has officially indicated the essential nature of the remedy to be applied, though it is not evident that its members are all satisfied as to the exact details of a legislative attempt to give it practical effect. In its eleventh annual report the commission said:

"It is only by destroying competition that the inducement to deviate from the published rate is wholly removed, and it is only to the extent that competition is actually destroyed that beneficial results can be expected."

The foregoing sentence tersely summarizes the practical teachings of twelve years occupied in an at-

tempt to enforce competition and at the same time prevent unjust discrimination. Competition and relatively unfair rates go hand in hand. The former is impracticable without the latter. Remove the former and the latter will disappear. If the federal attempt to regulate interstate railway transportation has produced no other good result it has finally demonstrated the utter and hopeless futility of all legislative efforts to enforce equality in railway rates while requiring methods of railway administration which can be completely expressed in no other way than by injustice and inequity in the relative adjustment of railway charges.

Competition among railways connecting the same localities is therefore the cause of those unjust advantages in transportation rates which have permitted the formation and continuance of many of those injurious industrial combinations which do not add to the productive power of the energy available for the satisfaction of human wants. A suggestion in regard to the way in which unjustly favorable rates are secured seems desirable. No railway or railway officer habitually makes voluntary concessions of this character. The feeblest intellect could scarcely fail to recognize that such concessions are disadvantageous to the carriers, not only on account of the actual revenue sacrificed, which is by no means insignificant, but more especially of the popular disapproval that inevitably attaches to such practices and the probability that this sentiment will, sooner or later, result in restrictive legislation.

The alternative presented to railway officials, however, is not between the maintenance of published rates or the concession of secret reductions, but between accepting traffic at less than the open rates or witnessing its diversion to rival lines. When the traffic in question is important in amount, rates known to be far below the remunerative standard are not infrequently accepted.

Shippers who control great quantities of traffic are thus enabled practically to dictate rates upon the traffic furnished by themselves and their rivals, and it is not strange that the latter receive little consideration. No railway corporation is really able to control its own charges on business that may go to a rival carrier when it is important in amount and the selection of a route is in the control of a single shipper or a compact group of shippers. Such discriminations are reluctantly and grudgingly accorded, and the responsibility for them lies, not with any railway corporation or its officers, but with the public sentiment which fails to insist upon the modification of the legislation which compels them.

Railway competition can be prevented in three ways: (*a*) by consolidation through the merger of separate corporations, (*b*) by the purchase of the control of separate properties by a single individual or a compact group of individuals, or, (*c*) by effective agreements to divide traffic or the revenue therefrom in definite proportions.

. There is much to be said in favor of actual consolidation, yet, without questioning its desirability as an ultimate result of railway development, it is quite evident, when the magnitude of the interests involved are considered, that the process of consolidation, if unduly stimulated, might outrun the legal institutions that determine the relations between society and its industrial agents or among those who contribute in various ways to the aggregate of human activity. It is obvious, too, that if railway combination is profitable consolidation must be unduly stimulated when other means of combination are unnaturally restricted. The practice of purchasing controlling interests in rival railways, and thus securing some of the results of consolidation while maintaining legally separate corporate identities, is resorted to on account of the restrictions

upon other forms of combination. It is open to the objection that it can be carried on with but little publicity and even now so little is generally known in regard to its extent and results that it is impossible to estimate the value of the economies which it may have permitted.

The third method of combination suggested involves the least departure from current methods of railway administration and would produce the least strain upon established legal institutions. It was commonly practiced in the United States from the year 1870 to 1887, when the interstate commerce law became effective, and under the popular but inaccurate name of "pooling" was a recognized and familiar element in railway practice. It was forbidden in 1887, not at the demand of an intelligent majority but because of the clamor of noisy demagogues and the unintelligent prejudices of those who had the least knowledge of the methods of transportation and of industry.

The restoration of the privilege of dividing traffic is at present generally recognized as the most natural and the simplest step toward the correction of the abuses that always attend railway competition. The change has long been urged by those most thoroughly acquainted with the business of transportation and has the approval of a majority of the interstate commerce commission as will be seen from the following extracts from its eleventh annual report:

"The carriers insist that such a remedy lies in the enactment of a pooling bill, which they earnestly demand. . . . The tendency of pooling would be to remove the inducement to a departure from the published rate, and to the extent that it prevailed such would be the result. A majority of the Commission think it must occasion some improvement in the rate situation at almost all points and that it might altogether amend it at many points. . . . Clearly something should be done. The carriers insist that this is the proper remedy. They are in a better position to judge than any one else, and they constitute so important a part of the whole public, that they are entitled to careful attention in a matter which they insist is vital to them."

While pooling as practiced prior to 1887 had in no way incurred or merited the condemnation of the intelligent and had won the approval of such public agencies as the Iowa railroad commission, it was open to objections that will not apply to any system that is likely now to be created. As expressed by the interstate commerce commission:

" Pooling in this country had not been tested previous to the act under such circumstances as to make its success or failure then a fair criterion of what legalized contracts of that sort might accomplish."

The facts that warrant the foregoing statement may briefly be summarized. Pooling arrangements, in the United States, were always regarded as extra-legal and no carrier ever ventured to appeal to a court for relief against one which had violated such an agreement. Consequently their observance was wholly dependent upon the good faith of the parties, and, as confidence in this on the part of officials of rival roads was apt to be impaired by the frequently unfounded rumors industriously circulated by interested shippers, there was a lack of stability that did not fail seriously to impair their usefulness. Under such circumstances no carrier could afford entirely to rid itself of the expensive machinery of competition or wholly to disregard the importunities of shippers whose purchasable good-will might soon become a necessity.

The pooling system, under these limitations, served to mitigate but not to do away with discrimination. All proposals for the renewal of the system unite in providing legal sanction and redress for losses resulting from violation of agreements. There will therefore be sufficient stability to warrant the economies that can be effected by abolishing the wasteful methods of competition and to relieve railway officials from the dictation of those who control extensive traffic.

The opponents of this proposed modification of the

interstate commerce law advance but one argument that can be credited at all by those who have followed the history of public regulation since 1887. It is claimed that the competition of two or more railways connecting the same localities causes the cheapening of transportation to the public, and the argument is made to appear plausible by statements of the reductions known to have taken place within the last thirty years. The coincidence of time is apparent, but the slightest investigation shows that the evidence exceeds the argument. It proves too much. Railway rates have declined at all points and on all traffic though competition of the kind referred to has existed at comparatively few points and with regard to but a small portion of the total traffic. There is no locality and no commodity of any importance whatever that has not been affected by reduced charges.

The real cause of the remarkable decline in rates has been the much more effective competition of localities for the trade of common markets. This has been given effect by the railways serving the rival regions and has so strongly operated upon their charges that shippers have not only gained the entire benefits of numerous reductions in the cost of conducting transportation, but have also succeeded in diverting so much of the profits of the business from the pockets of railway owners to their own, that, though the railway mileage of the United States is now three times what it was in the year 1871, railway dividends have not during any year of the present decade reached the total paid in 1871. This process has been independent of the competition of rival routes except that the expenses required to maintain the latter have constituted a barrier to greater reductions. Their removal will constitute the beginning of new economies that must in turnulti-

mately accrue to the benefit of the shipping and traveling public.

Careful investigation, therefore, indicates no justification for further delay in removing the limitation upon freedom of contract among railway carriers, which is the prolific parent of injustice in rate-making, the cause of wastes that are met by higher rates than would otherwise be fairly remunerative, and the source of illegitimate profit to unfairly favored shippers that is the foundation of many uneconomic, unprofitable and dangerous industrial combinations.

LATEST PHASES OF LIFE INSURANCE

SHEPPARD HOMANS

Life insurance seems to be particularly adapted to the genius and instinct of the American people. It is the only way by which a capital, instantly available under certain circumstances, may be created for the support of the widow and orphan. It is charity without dependence, benevolence without ostentation,—and yet in one sense it is neither charity nor benevolence but a business, a commercial contract, based upon science and sound financial principles. Commencing practically in 1843 with the advent of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, in the short space of fifty years the business in American companies now exceeds in volume that in the companies of all other nations combined.

Life insurance has for its basis that law of nature known as the doctrine of chances. By that law it is demonstrated scientifically that any observed happenings in the past will, under similar circumstances, be the actual happenings in the future *provided* there be a sufficient number to afford scope for the action of the law of average. Thus the rates of mortality which have been experienced in the past among a certain number of persons may be counted upon as likely to occur in the future among persons similarly situated as regards ages, family history, occupations and climatic conditions. The chance of dying, in the case of a single individual, is of all things most uncertain, but the rates of mortality which will prevail in future among a large number of persons insured can be foretold with great precision and certainty; so much so that a distinguished British authority, the late Prof. De

Morgan, has well said: "There is nothing in the commercial world which approaches, even remotely, the security of a well-established life office."

According to the latest official returns (1898) the insurances in force in the regular companies, not including that in assessment associations, beneficial and friendly societies, in the United States and Great Britain were respectively as follows:

In the United States	\$6,326,120,072
In Great Britain (about) . . .	3,300,000,000

The income, disbursements and assets of the 56 regular companies in the United States for the year 1897 were as follows:

Income, premiums	\$243,347,949
Interest, etc. . . .	<u>61,597,726</u> \$304,945,675
Disbursements to policy - holders, for death claims, dividends and surrender values	139,405,708
Expenses of management	<u>69,581,866</u> 208,987,574
Excess of income over outlays	\$ 95,958,101
Total assets	\$1,344,901,189

It is difficult for the mind to grasp these figures,— still more difficult to grasp their import. They mean that the American people are paying each year nearly two hundred and fifty million dollars for premiums, and that they have one and one-third billion dollars invested for the benefit of their future widows and orphans; that American companies paid out, in the year 1897, one hundred and thirty-nine million dollars, mainly to the families of their deceased policy-holders. These last figures mean also that there is scarcely a

family in the land which is not interested in them. It is certain that the hopes and happiness and interests of millions of our citizens are involved in this great economy of life insurance. It is certain too that there is scarcely a family in the land which could not, with advantage, avail itself of its beneficent provisions. To the wealthy a large sum of money coming at a critical time may be most timely. To those in moderate circumstances the proceeds of a life insurance policy may mean the difference between comfort and hardship, between competency and poverty, between happiness and misery.

Life insurance has been developed from very small beginnings. In the middle of the sixteenth century the lives of captains and supercargoes voyaging in the Mediterranean were frequently insured for brief periods against death or captivity by pirates, the risks being assumed by individual underwriters very much as in our modern Lloyds. The earliest life policy on record was issued June 15th, 1583, by the "Office of Insurance within the Royal Exchange," upon the life of one William Gybbons. That office had a brief existence. The earliest life insurance company was the "Society of Assurance for Widows and Orphans." This office also had but a brief career. The oldest existing office which at any time transacted the business of life insurance is the "Hand-in-Hand" of London, chartered in 1696, but its first policy was not issued until much later. The celebrated "Amicable Society" was chartered March 25th, 1706, by Queen Anne. This society carried on the business of life insurance for one hundred and thirty years, or until 1836, when it was merged into the "Norwich Union." In the year 1721 there were founded in London two offices, still existing, the "Royal Exchange" and the "London Assurance," each of which issued life policies from the beginning,

and have continued to do so until the present time. They are therefore the oldest existing companies writing life insurance contracts, but their principal business has always been that of marine and fire insurance.

Modern life insurance in Great Britain may be said to have commenced in 1762 when the famous "Equitable" of London was organized. Its business from the first has been conducted on sound principles of science and commercial experience. It has had from the outset a phenomenal success. It has never employed agents or paid commissions. In the amount of business transacted it has been distanced by many modern offices, and, although its own volume has greatly diminished since its maximum in 1816, it is now increasing. The "Equitable" of London is not, however, as is generally assumed, the oldest existing office doing a purely life insurance business. That honor is due to a little American company, the "Presbyterian Ministers' Fund," of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, which was organized in 1759 or three years before the famous "Equitable." It has for 138 years quietly, unostentatiously, successfully, and without interruption pursued the business of life insurance, chiefly among Presbyterian clergymen. Its business has always been conducted on sound principles and it bids fair to continue indefinitely a successful career.

While life insurance is a blessing and one which is better appreciated each year as its practical advantages are more widely known, it does not follow that it should be adopted without discretion. There are various forms of policy contracts from among which there is room for intelligent choice. A young man with no capital, or with moderate capital, all of which he needs in his business, would not make a judicious choice if he selected a short term endowment insurance where the investment element is large. Such a policy con-

tract might on the other hand be most judicious for a man who, having an assured income, desires to make provision not only for his family in case of his own death, but for himself in case he should survive to a stated age. Again, one who has a number of persons depending upon his exertions should select a different form of policy contract from another who has only one dependent. There is abundant room for intelligent choice in the selection of the most suitable form of policy and of the company which offers the best advantages, and yet there are few engagements into which men, even the most careful, enter with so little thought and judgment as those of life insurance. The result is that the number of lapses, or premature discontinuances, involving disappointment and loss, is simply enormous. This is one of the greatest drawbacks to the business. A man should ponder well and decide wisely as to the form of policy and the particular company in which to effect his insurance, but having made his selection he should persevere to the end.

As an illustration of the folly of effecting insurances without proper caution and knowledge we may cite the cases of those who have been induced to accept the contracts of assessment associations. The amount of life insurance, such as it is, in American assessment associations exceeds that in all the regular or old line companies combined. The principle upon which assessment insurance is based is that death claims will be met from the proceeds of assessments to be levied upon surviving members. The security of such insurance depends necessarily upon the ability of the association to compel the payment of assessments by survivors. If survivors can release themselves from the liability to respond to assessments when levied to meet death claims, then the security of the insurance is lessened or destroyed. If on the other hand the associations can

compel survivors to respond to assessments when levied to meet death claims, then the members have entered into a contract which can end only with their own lives, and perhaps not even then. Such liability is consequently indefinite as to time, and unlimited as to its pecuniary amount. The decisions of the courts are not uniform, but in a large majority of cases they indicate that in becoming a member of an assessment association a man makes himself liable for assessments during the remainder of his life, even although his own insurance shall have ceased.

"The amount of personal liability can never be fixed by the assured nor even known by him in advance. There is no way to escape the liability. Mere refusal to pay an assessment does not release a member from it."—*Donald N. Ross*, Sup. Court N. Y., Hunter, 37.

"Forfeiture of rights under a policy does not necessarily release the member from liability to assessments."—*Korn vs. Insurance Company*, 6 Crauch, 192.

If, on the other hand, as is claimed by many assessment associations, members may retire at will, and may be thus released from liability to respond to assessments when made to meet death claims, what becomes of the security of those who remain? Their contracts would literally be mere ropes of sand. The security of death claimants in an assessment association rests upon its ability to enforce the collection of assessments from each and every surviving member.

In the case of the Protective Mutual Association, whose members were allowed by the terms of their contracts to retire at will, Judge Blodgett, of the Circuit Court of the United States, said in substance that the holder of such a policy when it becomes a claim is without remedy, unless some other policy-holder, of his own free will, chooses to subscribe for the benefit

of the deceased. He held that the payment of the assessment, being purely optional, cannot be enforced by the association, and he relegates the policy-holder to the cold comfort of a lawsuit against an institution which has no assets and no power to obtain them.

Safety can be obtained only in well-established and well-managed *regular* or old line companies, the contracts of which are based upon sound principles of science and commercial experience and are secured by adequate reserves.

As a rule American life insurance companies have been managed with fidelity and ability, and persons who wish to provide for their future widows and orphans, or for their old age, may accept their contracts with confidence. Their statements of assets, liabilities, income, disbursements and surplus are published in minute details by the several state insurance departments and in the public press. While in general they are all sound, financially, yet there is room for intelligent choice as to their relative advantages for intending assurers.

Notwithstanding its present growth and magnitude, the business of life insurance is still in its infancy. In the future it is destined to absorb a large and increasing percentage of the savings of the provident and prudent portions of our citizens, and be a means of infinite good to their future widows and orphans. Long may its managers deserve and receive the confidence of their patrons, who intrust to them sacred interests which cannot mature until death shall prevent these patrons from defending those for whom they make so generous and unselfish provisions.

SOCIALISM AND MORAL PROGRESS

ERNEST MARTINEAU*

The socialists have recourse to the historic advance of communities, to the inexorable laws of what they term the growing concentration of capital in the hands of a plutocracy more and more narrowed, in conjunction with the progressive concentration of workers in professional syndicates, and the development of machinery and large production, rendering collective operation still further necessary, in order to prove that collectivism is the necessary end of economic evolution, and that it is the function of the working class, of the proletariat conscious of its destiny, of its historic mission, to further the economic dispossession of the capitalists, for the purpose of realizing the socialization of the means of production. Such is the doctrine of contemporary socialists, of the theorists of collective socialism, and the necessity of such a revolution is proclaimed so that an end may be put to the individual enterprise of the working masses, and that everything may converge into a social state, wherein there shall be no more oppression.

I beg you to remark that the principal grievance of the socialists against modern society is what is called the anarchical and deadly competition which places the producers in conflict, and which causes strife in society by the antagonism of interests. For this unequal struggle, in which, they tell us, the proletariat is inevitably doomed to destruction, it is necessary to substitute a regime of harmony and union, where all classes are

**Socialism, and the Law of the Evolution and Moral Progress of Societies.* By Ernest Martineau. Translated for GUNTON'S MAGAZINE from the *Journal des Economistes* (Paris), of July, 1899.

blended together, in which the state, being the central power, shall direct production in common whilst fixing the duration of labor and the value of the services of each individual. Thus the revolution will be accomplished by the advent of social justice and by the enfranchisement, the emancipation, of all classes of society.

Is it so sure that this regime so vaunted by our *fin de siècle* socialists, by J. Guesde, Jaurès and *tutte quanté*, is the great secret of progress, and that it assures the enfranchisement of the classes of society? I cannot, I confess, perceive this emancipation of the citizens of the collective state; it is impossible to share M. Jaurès' illusions when he affirms that "economic proofs and the great moral exigences of the inner life point to socialism, the high conception of morality and human dignity leads to socialism, which is the apex to which all aspirations are directed." (*Petite République*, May 4, 1899,—"L'Idée Socialiste.")

Certainly these are noble aspirations, but is the collective system capable of giving satisfaction on that score? Can it realize such a high conception of morality and human dignity?

From M. Jaurès' statement I see, according to his system, that there is a central power which will be charged with determining the scale of production, regulating the hours of labor, fixing by rule the price of work, the value of the services of each of the citizens of the socialistic state. Is that a real progress, an efficacious means of raising the level of morality and of the dignity of the citizens?

M. Jaurès condemns the Catholic organization as an institution based upon the principle of authority, and which, consequently, can only be a power of oppression; how is it that he cannot see that collective socialism rests upon the same foundation, that it is but,

and cannot be other than, a regime of oppression and despotism?

By what right and title, if they do not rely upon the principle of authority, do the socialists confiscate to their advantage the direction of the labor of the producers, of the citizens; by what right are they going to substitute themselves for the workers to appraise and fix the price of their labor?

From the point of view of morality, of human dignity, is it not the right and duty of each citizen, so far as he may be a producer, to assess the value of his services, to determine fully and entirely, independently, whether the service which is offered him is equivalent to that which he offers in exchange? In seeking to replace the judgment of the party interested by that of the state, do you not see that you abuse human dignity, you suppress the most powerful inducement to perfectibility? It is by continually falling that the child learns to walk; under the plea that man can be deceived, that he can fall into error, you would that he should not learn to walk, to correct himself, to take upon himself by degrees the character of man. As the Romans decreed by their legislation the perpetual tutelage of woman, by reason of the alleged inferiority of their sex, you decree—that is progress after your idea—you decree the perpetual tutelage of man, for the reason that the weakness of their nature is disposed toward evil; it is thus that you interpret the law of evolution of human communities, that you proceed to bring about the emancipation of humanity.

By what right and title, I repeat, do you thus suppress, in the person of citizens transformed into subjects of the state, the right of appraising the value of their respective services?

“Because,” you say, “it is the duty of the state to protect the weak, the humble, those who in the bat-

tle of life are in an inferior state compared with others, compared with the powerful, the capitalists."

Let us examine the value of the argument. The state is an important body in classic antiquity, among the Greeks and especially among the Romans, a body exceedingly important in those days of slavelike and warlike civilization. The state then used to intervene to organize the domination of the strong over the weak, of the conquerors over the vanquished and their offspring; its intervention, far from protecting the weak, oppressed them, crushed out of them their importance to such a degree that, having transformed their nature, it degraded them to the rank of chattels; it made slaves of them.

In the middle ages and up to modern times, if we continue to search history, we perceive the intervention of the state being exercised on the side of domination by the powerful over the humble and weak. That is the history of the state and its economical as well as political intervention through the centuries.

"We would change all that," reply the theorists of socialism; "we will have our hearts in the right place; our state will be directed by good, unselfish men, exempt from the passions and the errors of men; ours will be the model state."

The Model State! Thus without doubt will the dream of Rousseau be realized: "There should be gods for the government of men." If these be not gods at the very least we should have archangels or angels.

Pascal has a word on this subject which the theorists would do well to consider: "Man is neither angel nor brute, and what an angel would do—" We will not complete the quotation; we refer the socialists to the text of Pascal.

But to do justice to M. Jaurès, he does not go so

far as to maintain the thesis of the infallibility of the state.

He stated recently in the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies: "The state is by no means infallible; so it must respect the liberty of thought, philosophic liberty."

Very good; but in that case your system of economic tutelage, your intervention by the state in the domain of production and exchange, this whole system of servitude and suppression is rotten at the foundation, it crumbles to pieces. If your state is not infallible, why do you substitute its judgment for that of each party interested to determine and fix the value of services? In that case it is not worth while changing the regulation of interests, replacing one kind of fallibility by another, and the fallibility which makes the fewest mistakes, assuredly, is that of the party interested himself. Repeating M. Jaurès' own words: "The state is by no means infallible; so it must respect the freedom of contracts, economic liberty." How do you answer this objection?

Should then the philosopher Jaurès not have some respect and regard for anything except philosophic liberty, and would the spirit of system blind him to the extent of preventing his seeing other liberties?

It has been wisely said: *primo vivere, deinde philosophari*: the care of the material life is the first thing in the order of the needs of humanity; for which reason the most elementary logic demands of the theorists of socialism, starting from the fallibility of the state, the placing of economic liberty in the foreground.

Thus the inconsistency is flagrant; starting from the fallibility of the state to wind up at philosophic liberty, you can never explain how you can at the same time conclude at economic tutelage.

The inconsistency is so much the more glaring in

that it is not only from a philanthropic but also from a political point of view that M. Jaurès, and with him the other theorists of socialism, make use of the name of liberty. In the name of the dignity of man, of free thought and of free science, M. Jaurès protests against the tyranny of the state in political as well as in philosophical matters; in most of his writings the word "liberty" is found every moment under his pen, and if he aims at collectivism it is, he says, to encourage the expansion, the opening up, of individuality, to lead to the enfranchisement of the working masses.

It is, indeed, a strange spectacle, and these theorists of collectivism, who protest with reason against the comparison of their system with anarchy, give proof herein of a singular anarchy in their ideas.

In a word, are social to be distinguished from political questions by a clearly defined line of demarcation? On the contrary, etymology itself proves the identity of the signification of these two terms: political, social; thus Aristotle's definition of man, *πολιτικὸν ζωον*, is commonly translated by the words, *social animal*.

"It is in the interest of the humble," you say "of the weak, for their protection, that the socialistic state should interfere in economic matters;" but you forget that there are the humble, the weak in spirit, who should be protected in political matters, against the others, against charlatans of every sort, against able rhetoricians and subtle sophists; why, then, in these similar, identical cases do you come to a different conclusion; in the one case liberty, in the other tutelage?

The contradiction is so glaring that we find M. Jaurès himself denouncing it. In his thesis of Sorbonne on the origins of German socialism, he says: "From the socialistic point of view those who proclaim the nothingness of a liberty of pure *indifference*, who in philosophy and in theology reject a false and lying im-

age of liberty, in economic matters repudiate a vain image of liberty which has only the name of liberty." (*Revue Socialiste*, June, 1892, p. 649.) This is admirable, and we see here the perfect concordance of the doctrine. Theologians, philosophers of authority, socialists, all hurl together anathemas at liberty, whether the question is one of philosophy and political liberty or economic liberty. But then, why this distinction in the actual doctrine of M. Jaurès and of the socialists of the Marx school in general, between their philosophic and political theories on the one hand and their economic theory on the other? This false and lying image of liberty, rejected, you say, by philosophers and theologians, this liberty of pure indifference whose nothingness you recently denounced, here to-day you boast of its truth and its charms, you prostrate yourself before it; this idol which you shattered you now adore in the garb of philosophical and political liberty; on the other hand you repudiate it and curse it when it takes the form of economic liberty. Singular logic, truly, the logic of this master of philosophy. These subtle and inexplicable distinctions so far from carrying conviction to the mind, invariably excite doubt and opposition. To every logical mind liberty is one and indivisible and M. Jaurès has no right to split it into fractional parts arbitrarily at the will of his economic phantasies.

Where liberty is absent servitude reigns; the socialization of the production and distribution of wealth under the tutelage of the state is a conception of the theologian, a retrograde doctrine; it is the destruction of the economic work of the French Revolution, of that glorious principle of the liberty of labor which Turgot proclaimed and which marked the advent of the new order founded upon justice, in which each individual man, under state guarantee, should be master of himself, of his faculties and of his services, and the

liberty of each should have no limit except the equal liberty of the others. The inconsistency of doctrine of the theorists of socialism on this fundamental point could be pointed out on each page of their writings and speeches; thus, for example, we find this phrase in Chap. I. of "Kapital," by Karl Marx: "The social life will not be released from the mystic cloud which overhangs it until the day when it is treated as production by freely associated men, acting consciously, and masters of their own social action."

Certainly the system of servitude, of state tyranny which constitutes the foundation of collectivism, is very forcibly combatted in this remarkable passage. How do you dare, after that, to deny to man the right to act consciously and to be master of his own economic movements and to himself appraise, in all freedom, the value of his services?

Let us listen now to a disciple of Marx. Recently, from the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies, M. Jaurès pronounced these words:

"The idea that must be cherished before all is the idea that there is no sacred truth; the idea that no power should limit the perpetual effort and research of the human race; that humanity sits as a grand commission of inquiry whose powers are limitless; the idea that in every conclusion that we form our critical spirit must be on the alert, and that if God Himself appeared before us in palpable form the first duty of man would be to refuse Him obedience and to consider Him an equal with whom to discuss matters, not as a master to submit to." (Chamber of Deputies, sitting of 12th Feb'y, 1895.)

Was there ever seen more striking, decisive and solemn condemnation of the whole socialist doctrine than that? What! you assert so loftily the independence of human thought! you proclaim as the first

duty of man, before God Himself, to regard Him as an equal with whom to discuss matters, not as a master to whom to submit, and in the next place you vaunt before us, in economic matters, a government of rules, in which the value of the services of each citizen must be regulated by authority, by the state, which you, with your master Hégel, are pleased to term the Divine State!

But in the face of this God-State which you present before me, and which wishes to impose upon me a scale of value for my services, I intend, by virtue of your own philosophical doctrine, to exercise what you call my first duty, the duty of refusing it obedience, of not submitting to it as a master, of treating with it as between equals, and discussing its scale of value. What objection have you to that? What objection could you make that would not be radically inconsistent with the language I have just repeated? I say, repeating your own formula, that there is, in economic matters, no power vested with the right to limit the privilege of every man to seek truth, to appraise, to discuss, the value of his services, to compare the services offered him with those demanded of him in exchange. What an undecipherable enigma is the logic of the theorists of socialism!

Here is a philosophical doctrine which exalts the power of the citizen, whereby all truth which comes not from us is disputable, in all our deliberations our critical spirit should be on the alert, and it is asserted that in the face of God Himself it is the first duty of every man to refuse Him obedience and to discuss matters with Him.

Such is the doctrine which has just been warmly defended and expounded at the tribune of the Chamber by M. Jaurès, to the plaudits of the entire body of socialists.

And now, if we demand of this same orator what is his economic doctrine he tells us in reply that in that matter the citizen is held to passive obedience, that he must neither seek truth nor appraise nor discuss the value of his services, that all that is considered, valued and governed by the state or sovereign. In this case what becomes of the independence of the citizen, his right of free research, free discussion, that right which in a general manner you concede to him? The inconsistency is glaring; you must choose one or the other of the doctrines; either the passive obedience, the sovereign regulation by the state of the value of the services of each individual, or free discussion, free research, the right of every citizen to stand up before the Divine-State and consider it as an equal, the right to make use of such words as these to the socialistic state:

"I do not accept the scale which you wish to impose upon me, and which regulates at your will the price of my services. I have a different idea of that value and I do not wish to submit to your regulation, which I consider prejudicial to my interests. You have told me in all truth that nobody ought to submit to any authority which does not come from ourselves, we have the right to consider it as false; in the name of this doctrine which you have expounded to me I rise up against your regulation, I intend to remain the master, to regulate according to my own judgment the value of my services."

What serious objection can be opposed to this language? From the point of view of morality, of human dignity, what reflections are presented to the mind! Here is an old professor of philosophy who, without smiling, has just contended that it is progress, from a moral point of view, to organize a social system in which each individual will have to abdicate into the hands of the state the direction of his labor and the

right to discuss the value of his labor. He will have neither the liberty to work and dispose of the product of his labor, nor responsibility of any sort from this point of view, the state being clothed with the character of economic Providence; that is the morality of the system; it is in this way that the philosopher Jaurès intends to raise the moral level of humanity.

The Paraguay Jesuits, those famous educators, those past masters of human morality, did not understand any other system of state government and development of civilization, and we know how they carried out the education of the Indians and elevated their moral level, to what a height they caused to rise their conception of the dignity which pertains to the free man and citizen! It takes all the blindness of the spirit of system to obscure in the eyes of M. Jaurès and the socialists the idea of true morality, of veritable dignity, and it is a subject of painful astonishment to think that a philosopher such as M. Jaurès does not comprehend that there can only be moral progress by the development, in man himself, of the feeling of his responsibility.

You transfer the responsibility, in the economic life, you take away what is incumbent upon the individual and shift it on to the state and, showing us with pride your work, you boast of the high morality of the system, alleging that humanity, in following you, is on the high road to perfection.

However, on reflection, it seems difficult to admit that no doubts arise in your conscience as to the moral efficacy of socialism. If the progress of morality advanced, in your mind, equally with the development of the irresponsibility of the individual, how do you explain the fact that, in a celebrated case with which France is at present pre-occupied, you are engaged in seeking responsibilities, to secure as a legitimate meas-

ure the punishment of each of the guilty parties, according to their respective crimes, and that responsibility you are following up in the interest of the country, as a useful and efficacious lesson, calculated to prevent the repetition of similar scandals? If responsibility is useful and efficacious in this case, if it is moral, how would the irresponsibility of the individual, the worker, in the economic life, be moral progress and elevation of human dignity?

We await the reply of M. Jaurès and we conclude, so far as regards the point of view of historic evolution as well as of the moral progress of communities, that socialism, which absorbs the individual in the state, and yields up to it the direction of his labor together with the right to fix and discuss the value of his services, is a system of reaction, opposed to the natural tendencies of the people such as are manifested by historic progress, as well as to the advancement of morality and human dignity.

BRYAN VERSUS LABOR MEN ON TRUSTS

Among the numerous interesting features of the recent trust conference in Chicago, none were more significant to the student and observer than the contrast between the treatment of the subject by Mr. Bryan and the representatives of trade unions. The representatives of trade unions are workingmen, and the public is in the habit of expecting them to be rather one-sided and narrow, only partially informed, and highly prejudiced.

On the other hand, Mr. Bryan is the statesman and standard-bearer of a great political party for the entire nation. It was properly to be expected that he would give a comprehensive, statesmanlike presentation of the subject. It must be remembered that this was not a party gathering but a national non-political conference called for the judicious and intelligent discussion of a question that is comparatively new, and one that is now passing through the crucible of public discussion. It was naturally expected, therefore, that the reasoning would be comparatively free from sentiment and assumption, but would be founded upon and logically connected with history and facts from experience, and sustained in a measurable degree by economic and political principle. In this respect Mr. Bryan's address was a surprise to everybody. He began and ended without attempting to prove a single proposition. He simply took the ground that trusts were conceived in sin, born in iniquity, and live by crime. He said a great many sharp things, some cute things, and some even funny. He told some stories that were apt, and he made some fairly telling Bible quotations. But while these entertained the audience none of them contributed to establishing a single point. He did not

even attempt to lay a foundation in fact or reason for any of the conclusions he endeavored to impress upon the conference.

For instance, he opened with the announcement that monopoly in private hands is a public injury;—assumed that trusts are monopolies in private hands, and therefore should be abolished. He did not take the pains to inquire or explain in the least what constitutes a monopoly, or to point out a single concern that is a monopoly, but simply unqualifiedly affirmed that monopolies are bad and trusts are monopolies, hence trusts are bad and must be abolished. If Mr. Bryan had taken the least pains to define and explain monopoly, the working of his own mind would have forced him to the conclusion that industrial monopoly is exclusive control of an industry. There is no partial monopoly, any more than there is a partial hole. There may be large and small holes, but if it is a hole it is a hole, and if a concern is a monopoly it is a monopoly, which means that it has no competitors.

As a matter of fact, outside of the post-office and the owners of patents, there is not a monopoly in productive industry in this country. There are different degrees of intensity of competition and widely different numbers of competitors, but no monopolies.

Moreover, it is not at all clear that competition is the severest where competitors are most numerous. On the contrary, it frequently happens that where the number of competitors is very large competition is very weak, because the individual competitors are small. Competition was not very strong between individual producers such as hand-loom weavers. It is much keener and stronger between corporations. The fact is, that the larger the competing concerns the severer the competition. It is the competition of giants, as distinguished from the competition of Lilliputians. So that,

it often happens that competition is severest when the number of competitors is smallest. There never was any competition in the sugar industry nearly so severe as that between the two great concerns of the American Sugar Refining Company and the Arbuckles. If the sugar industry were divided up into a thousand concerns the competition would probably not be one-tenth so severe as it is between these two colossal rivals.

Mr. Bryan's assumption, therefore, that large corporations are monopolies is not merely absurd but it is boyish. It is not intellectually respectable. It has no more foundation than the old woman's ghost in the closet, and as a basis of reasoning is discreditable. He is bound to find at least one monopoly before he assumes that they are all monopolies.

But he did not even endeavor to show that they are bad, even if they were monopolies. He failed to give the faintest hint of anything to warrant the assumption that large corporations are injurious, either industrially, socially or politically. He cited no case where they have increased prices, repressed the freedom of the laborers, increased the hours of labor or menaced the machinery of government. More than that, he did not criticize a single statement that had been made presenting facts on the other side. He simply made a series of statements that for aught the listeners could tell had no relation to anything that had ever existed, does exist or will exist, but was simply the pronouncement of what was in his own mind.

Of course, it was not so surprising that the gentlemen from Texas and Arkansas should do this. Indeed, they were rather expected to do it. But Mr. Bryan is the responsible leader of a great political party. He was not addressing a political convention but participating in a mixed conference met to discuss dispassionately, on the basis of careful induction and logical rea-

soning, an important public question. In the light of the responsible position he occupies, as an aspirant and selected candidate for the presidency of the United States, the character of this address under the circumstances is little short of alarming. It shows that a political party representing perhaps in the next election seven million voters, can be led and its policy formed by a person who will ruthlessly dispose of a public question, involving the very principles of industrial safety and freedom, upon mere prejudice, undigested assumption and flippant discussion aimed solely to catch the ear and approval of those least informed upon the subject.

As if to emphasize this lamentably unstatesmanlike attitude, Mr. Bryan concluded his address by proposing, as a remedy for the evils he assumed but did not try to prove exist, that congress should pass a law prohibiting any corporation from doing business outside the state in which it is chartered, without first receiving a license from the federal government. Only a mind which could seriously discuss such an important subject with entire contempt for facts and principles could conceive such a proposition. It requires only a moment's consideration to see that this federal license scheme is a reversal of the very spirit of industrial freedom. It is a return to the mediæval method of magistrates' permission to peddle at the fairs. It is really subordinating the freedom of individual firms to the personal dictum of government officials. That it is contrary to both the spirit and letter of the constitution of the United States is obvious, but to accomplish this return to mediæval restriction Mr. Bryan expressed his willingness to alter the constitution.

Many devices have been suggested for dealing with trusts, but no local politician or dreaming visionary or social enthusiast has ever suggested one quite so une-

conomic, retrogressive, undemocratic and impossible as this proposition of Mr. Bryan's. It is not only contrary to the spirit and tendency of progressive institutions, but it is inconsistent even with Mr. Bryan's professed economic deliverances when in congress and since. He has been one of the loudest denouncers of all paternalistic restrictions of industry. He is so much of a Jeffersonian democrat, and so averse to governmental interference with industry, that he is an absolute free-trader, thinks it a crime against freedom and industry and civilization to establish a protective line around the outer edge of the country. And now, suddenly, without giving any reason but to suppress the growth and check the power of corporations, or what he calls "putting rings in the noses of hogs," he proposes to erect a political wall around every state, prohibiting, except by government license, industrial intercourse between the states. If there is any truth in the proverb that "Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad," Mr. Bryan is surely on the road to political destruction.

If we contrast with this the position and reasoning of the representatives of the trade unions, the utterances of these labor leaders were the voice of high statesmanship. Mr. Bryan, and those who think his type of utterances is wisdom, are expected to be appealing for the workingmen, to be stating their grievances and pleading their cause. Hence, the trade union representatives might naturally have been expected merely to echo the sentiments expressed by Mr. Bryan and his friends. To the astonishment of everybody, and to the delight of serious, intelligent students of the subject, they did nothing of the kind. The addresses delivered by Mr. Gompers, Mr. White and Mr. Garland were strong, intelligent, logical, well-verified, inductive arguments. Each showed familiarity with the facts of the case. No one could listen to any of these papers with-

out being convinced that the speaker was at once earnest, intelligent and informed; that he was not playing the demagogue; that the gallery was not his audience; that he was presenting deductions from the experience of the wage laborers he represented. Each presented a different set of facts: Mr. Gompers for the various trades in different parts of the country, Mr. White the facts as developed among the organized garment makers of New York City, and Mr. Garland the facts as known in the history of the iron, steel and tin workers of Pennsylvania. There was the evidence of an impregnable mastery of the matter which was irresistible. Each in his own line, and from the point of view of the group of laborers represented, could cite facts that when mentioned everybody knew, and that one after another exploded the fallacy of the whole series of Mr. Bryan's assumptions.

First of all, these men showed their superiority to Mr. Bryan in intelligently recognizing the fact that modern industry is inseparable from industrial organization. They recognized, as all intellectual students and even ordinary observers must, that organization is the indispensable instrument of industrial efficiency. They were not to be fooled by the silly notion that they could have organization for themselves and legislate it away from the capitalists. They took even broader ground than this. They stood upon the high, intelligent and economic plane of not only recognizing that organization, both for capital and for labor, is an indispensable means of efficiency, but that the increase of this means of productive efficiency in the hands of capital is one of the requisites necessary for labor to secure increased advantages. They not only saw and pointed out with a clearness that no one would venture to dispute that the laborers had, concurrently with the growth of capitalistic concentration, secured higher

wages and shorter hours, better treatment at the hands of bosses, more respectful recognition, individually and collectively, but they recognized that the great improvements which make cheaper products and higher wages and shorter hours possible could not be secured unless this capitalistic organization continued in effect.

Therefore, the representatives of trade unionists, each with a different set of facts but with a strikingly clear comprehension of their significance, gave the bold negative to the entire tone and tenor of Mr. Bryan's speech; and not one of them, and probably not one of the organizations they represent, could be induced to vote for his preposterous mediæval proposition.

The difference between the representatives of trade unions and Mr. Bryan, as they appeared before this conference discussing this important public question, was indeed a contrast in real comprehension of the subject and logical discussion of its aspects and bearing. The trade union representatives were incomparably the superior of Mr. Bryan at every point. Their rhetoric was not so good, but their facts and logic were better. They told fewer stories and quoted less scripture, but they uttered far more good economic sense and sound wisdom on public policy.

If Mr. Bryan and the two most conspicuous speakers among his friends at this conference may be taken as representing the economic sanity of the party of which he is the standard-bearer, and the three trade union representatives may be taken as representing the intelligent laborers of the United States, the public policy of the nation and political and industrial interests of the people of this country are far safer in the hands of the comparatively crude workingmen than they are in the hands of the political organization which will follow the lead and support the behests of William J. Bryan. The truth is that the labor leaders in this conference,

which was an occasion where some inflammatory undigested utterances might have been expected, since the subject under consideration was one upon which great public excitement exists, really demonstrated that they are safer leaders, more conscientiously represent the vital interests of the community, and are far more to be trusted as moulders of the opinions of the masses, than are the political orators who, as in this instance, rely on declamation and denunciation to command popular applause, regardless of the consequences to public welfare. Nothing has occurred for a long time which so conclusively shows the danger the nation is exposed to of empty oratory from political partisans, nor has anything more clearly demonstrated that in the last analysis the genuine integrity and conservative sense of the workingmen can be trusted in the long run to defend the rights and promote the interests of public welfare.

PROTECTION AND SHORT HOURS

No tenet in the protective doctrine is more pronounced or more often repeated than, one of the prime objects of the protective policy is to enable American employers to pay higher wages and afford shorter hours than European laborers enjoy. This is the basis upon which the protection party always appeals to working-men for their votes, and it is a correct appeal. The philosophy of protection is to protect superior social life, conditions and opportunities, against the injurious competition of inferior civilization. In short, the protection of the status and conditions of higher civilization is an ample economic and philosophic justification for a protective policy, and in reality no other defence is. Certainly there is no advantage *per se* in a custom-house inquisition. There is no advantage to the American consumers in being taxed and paying the expense of an immense custom house force. The only justification for the inconvenience of incoming travelers and importers, and in some instances of consumers, incident to a protective import duty is that it protects the opportunities for American industrial enterprise upon a higher wage and superior social and economic plane than could otherwise be maintained.

The opponents of a protective policy have persistently pooh-poohed this, insisted that the laborers really got no benefit, and that the consumers were injured to the amount of the duty that was paid, through higher prices of commodities. A number of the more conspicuous advocates of free trade, however, like the *New York Journal of Commerce*, have boldly and emphatically demanded that American wages should be lowered, insisting that in order that the United States may secure foreign trade and become a leading commercial nation

we must have free trade, and American wages must drop to the level of European competitors.

Now, right in the midst of unparalleled prosperity, which protectionists are ascribing entirely to the credit of our protective policy and under which it is triumphantly announced that our foreign trade is undergoing immense expansion, the workingmen are naturally asking to share the benefits in increased wages and shorter hours. In nearly all great industries throughout the country a rise of wages has already taken place. A second rise is being given in many instances. In the shipbuilding trade, which is especially prosperous just now, the men are asking for a reduction of the hours of labor from ten to nine per day, a reduction which has long since been granted in most of the mechanic trades in England, while the eight-hour day has been established in many of the industries in this country. The owners of the Cramp shipyard in Philadelphia refused to comply with the men's request, and a strike for the nine-hour day is the result.

Consistently with all the previous arguments, every republican newspaper in the country should endorse the men's request and urge the firm to grant the nine-hour day without a murmur. Thus far we are sorry to say that we do not know of a single republican paper which has taken this position, but on October 9th the *New York Press*, one of the stanchest republican journals and protection advocates in the country, had an editorial on the Cramp's strike, under the caption "Strikes in Export Trades." It took the position that if the workmen get the nine-hour day it will practically defeat our foreign trade in shipbuilding. It said:

"If the strike is won, the labor cost of building American ships will increase by ten per cent. a fact that readily explains the action of the English union in sending a representative here to assist the men with his counsels and experience. It is the American artisan, working

long hours for high pay, with improved machinery, that to-day chiefly threatens British supremacy in the export iron and steel trades. With the workmen of both countries putting in the same hours, and the one receiving 25 to 50 per cent. less than the other, nothing but a miracle can inject doubt into the result of their competition. . . . The strikes in British yards have had some part in diverting orders for Russian and Japanese warships to this country. One such commission is now being filled by the firm in whose yards the present strike is progressing. In the probable consequent delay the American firm loses one advantage which they have hitherto enjoyed."

According to this reasoning, we hold our own only by working our laborers longer than English employers work theirs.

If that be so, what becomes of protection? Granted that American laborers' wages are higher, if the working day is longer their drudgery is greater, the burden is heavier and offsets the gain. It is exactly against this disadvantage that the tariff is intended to afford protection. But these long hours are asked for that we may secure foreign trade, that we may undersell English shipbuilders abroad. Now it is exactly to prevent England from securing our market by such methods that we justify our tariff. We say, and we say it loud and often, that it is uneconomic, contrary to public policy, to permit England or any other foreign country to undersell the American producers in the American market by virtue of paying lower wages. If foreigners insist upon paying lower wages than we, they shall pay the difference in a tariff, so that their competition in the American market shall rest upon their economic superiority; in other words, that the ethics of competition is that those who win shall be forced to do so by economic superiority and not social inferiority. In other words, that they shall be compelled to succeed by the use of science through invention and improved machinery and superior methods, and not by the use of lower-paid labor.

Here come advocates of protection, with these

phrases warm upon their lips, asking that American laborers work longer hours than British laborers in order that we may compete with British manufacturers abroad. And this in the midst of prosperity, only one year from a national election! Is it to be expected that the workingmen will not note this sort of reasoning; that they will not see through the kinky logic which expounds protection for the laborer's benefit and then opposes reduction of the hours of labor in order that we may secure foreign trade? This is really Manchester doctrine, and does not belong in any sense to protective reasoning.

But the economic reasoning of the *Press* is untenable. "If the strike is won," it says, "the labor cost of building American ships will increase by 10 per cent." This sounds exactly like Edward Atkinson. It is one of those neat statements that seem plausible, and are not true. In order for this to be true two things would be necessary; first, that in shortening the working day from ten to nine hours the laborers do one-tenth less work; second, that this reduction apply to all the materials used in the ship as well as to the laborers who merely put it together in the shipyard. Neither of these conditions exists.

First, it is the almost unbroken testimony of experience that reducing the hours of labor never reduces the amount of work performed, to the same extent. A few years ago the English government made an extended experiment in the Woolwich Arsenal, of changing from a ten to an eight-hour day, and it was reported that the diminution in the quantity of work performed was imperceptible, that in reality about the same amount was produced and less wasted under the eight-hour than the ten-hour day, and the eight-hour day was adopted and is now in force. One of the largest iron manufacturing concerns in England, Messrs. Mather & Platt, of Sal-

ford, made an experiment about the same time, for a year, and they reported that the result was, taking the diminution of waste and lost time, that the eight-hour output was almost exactly equal to that of the ten. In their report, which has been printed, they say: "Had prices ruled the same, the turnover in the trial year would have been greater, and the wages cost, instead of showing an increase of four-tenths of one per cent., would have shown a decided decrease." That is to say, per unit per ton of output, the labor cost was slightly less under the eight-hour than under the ten-hour day.

If the editor of the *Press*, or protectionist editors generally, are disposed to look up the matter historically, we refer them to a work on the subject by John Rae, an English economist, entitled "Eight Hours for Work." Mr. Rae cites scores of cases in different countries where the testimony of the employers is substantially the same as those cited. The claim that the reduction of an hour a day would increase the labor cost in the Cramp shipyards 10 per cent. may be dismissed as pure assumption, contradicted by all the experience on the subject.

Second, the adoption of the nine-hour day in the Cramp shipyards would not affect one-tenth of the labor involved in that ship. It only affects those engaged in constructing the ships, but all the iron and steel work, wood and other materials, would not be in the least affected by this change. So that, if it were true that to reduce the working time an hour a day would reduce the output of the laborers so affected ten per cent., it would not affect the cost of shipbuilding one per cent. But, as a matter of fact, in a great many of the other industries, like the iron and steel, even among the miners who mine the ore, the nine and in some instances eight-hour day is already established.

How much this *Press* editorial is like the reasoning

of the free trader, who tries to persuade the laborer that ten cents duty on wool adds several dollars to the cost of his suit of clothes, when the fact is that in the first place the ten cents a pound seldom adds more than two or three cents to the price, which would amount to not more than fifteen or at the most twenty cents on a suit of clothes. We expect this kind of reasoning from the New York *Evening Post*, Edward Atkinson, and perhaps Professor Wilson, but we do not expect it from journals like the *New York Press*.

But, grant all the *Press* says to be true regarding its effect on the labor cost of production. Is it the doctrine of protectionists that the working day should be lengthened, or the pay shortened, in order to reduce the labor cost for the sake of competing with foreign producers? Is it not the very essence of the American doctrine that labor shall be well paid and have the maximum social opportunities, which necessitates a short working day, regardless of foreign competition, and that to sustain these conditions in American industry we are prepared to protect the American market against cheap labor or long-hour competition in every case? If we are to have a policy of long hours, which is the synonym for low wages, then protection is reduced to an empty phrase. No protectionist can consistently be an advocate of long hours and low wages. The improved condition of the workingmen is more important to this country than any amount of foreign trade. When foreign trade can be obtained only by lengthening the day or lessening the wages of American labor, we would better get along without it. High paid labor is the pride of this country, and any protection which does not protect that is not worth having.

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

APROPOS OF the criticism of the South for long hours and lack of labor legislation, and its employment of young children in the factories, the labor commissioner of North Carolina has investigated the subject for his state, and reports that since 1896 there has been an increase of 100% in the number of men employed in cotton factories, of about 50% in the number of women employed, and an actual decrease of nearly 50% in the number of children employed. This is a remarkable report, if it represents the general industry and is not based upon the conditions in some single factory where peculiar conditions prevail. It is not surprising, with the tendency of the cotton industry to go to the South, that there should have been an increase of 7,128 in the number of men and 5,320 in the number of women employed in North Carolina, but it is quite surprising that there should have been an actual decline of 2,606 children. That means that 2,606 who were employed in 1896 are now permanently out of the mills. It would be interesting to know a little more about this remarkable showing.

TOM HOOD, when asked for a recipe for English patriotism, said: "Find out what the Tories want and oppose it." It would seem to be a safe recipe for American patriotism to say: "Find out what Schurz and Atkinson want, and oppose it." These gentlemen in their old age and political dislocation seem to be capable only of getting on the wrong side of every important public question, and if perchance they get on the right side they reveal their activity at the wrong time and in the wrong way.

In something like a twelve-column address to the

Chicago Anti-Imperialist Conference, Mr. Schurz had nothing stronger or better to say than that the war in the Philippines is "a criminal blunder and a blundering crime" and that it is "the President's war," insisting that President McKinley has forced the war by his own personal, wilful effort. Mr. Atkinson, whose function, of course, it was to go Mr. Schurz one better, insisted that the President's aim was "to turn the republic into an empire." There is such a thing as being so foolishly foolish as to become harmless. It really seems as if this kind of reasoning were sufficiently silly not to be taken seriously by anybody. If there is one thing that President McKinley is entirely innocent of it is trying to thrust his own personal policy upon the nation. He may be open to criticism on a hundred lines, but nobody can truly charge him with that. Indeed he has almost become famous for holding his ear to the ground too long. But in no case, on any line of policy, has he been in the least guilty of instituting a personal policy. Mr. Atkinson is nothing if not original, and in this instance he has risen to the level of an inventor.

I HIS ADDRESS to the Carnegie Hall mass meeting in favor of the Boers, Mr. Bourke Cockran is reported to have said: "It may be asserted against the Transvaal that it is intolerant and that Jews and Catholics may not hold office. That is true, but it is also true that Catholics may not hold office in England." This was evidently a case of eloquence getting the better of facts. To be sure, Mr. Cockran subsequently published a card saying that he had been misreported. Though he may not have said or intended to have said what was reported, it is quite clear that he intended to give the impression that there was a close analogy between the English and Boer treatment of the Catholics, which was

readily accepted by his audience. Now, this is wholly untrue. In Great Britain Catholics have all the rights that any British citizen has, and in Ireland they have more than the Englishman has in England. In fact, during the last generation, legislation for Ireland has been more liberal than any legislation in any country in the world. In England, Scotland and Wales the people have to support a state church, whether they belong to it or not, but from this Ireland, which is mainly Catholic, is exempt. The land laws in Ireland are wholly in favor of the tenants, who are mostly Catholics, and the landlords mostly Protestants. They are such as would not be tolerated a month in this country. In no other country in the world can a tenant go into court and plead inability to pay his rent, and have it reduced accordingly. Politically, an Irishman counts in the British parliament nearly one-fourth more than an Englishman. Ireland has about 24 per cent. more representation in parliament in proportion to population than has England. If Ireland had the same basis of representation as England she would have only seventy-nine members instead of one hundred and three. The imputation that there is any similarity whatever between the English and Boer treatment of the Catholics is a violent perversion of all the facts in the case.

MR. HENRY ELWELL, of Boston, recently asked the New York *Sun* to give its opinion on the wisdom and feasibility of the proposition to reduce the working days of labor to five per week. In its reply the *Sun* gets off this hackneyed statement: "Obviously, if people work only five days they will get pay for only five days. Wages under the restraint of the law of supply and demand are adjusted necessarily by the amount of labor done. If, then, the reduction of the working time by one-sixth is not accompanied by a corresponding reduc-

tion of the supply, wages must go down proportionately."

Why need the *Sun* borrow so much trouble about wages? One would think it was the special guardian of the laborers' budget. Workingmen are not afraid of the "five days' pay for five days' work." They know this state of affairs never was true. They know that with every reduction of the working day, from sixteen hours in 1816, to eight hours as is now the rule in many trades, the wages were never proportionately reduced, but, on the contrary, wages have moved upward. Moreover, it is not true that wages "are adjusted necessarily by the amount of labor done." Wages are governed by an entirely different principle, with which the workmen seem to be much more familiar than the editor of the *Sun*. Neither is there any basis for assuming that there would necessarily be less work done. The great experiments in this direction contradict this assumption. The truth is, as everybody familiar with the subject knows, that the experience of the last fifty years, in which the working day has been shortened in some instances eight hours, or one-half, and in nearly all industries one-third, has shown that the product is not diminished nor wages reduced but both are increased.

Really, it is time that intelligent up-to-date journals should drop this fustian about the laborers having to accept lower wages if the working day is shortened. If the laborers are willing to take the risk, that is their affair.

UNITED STATES Controller of the Currency Dawes has been addressing the Merchants' Club of Boston on how to deal with trusts. While recognizing many of the necessary features of large corporations, Mr. Dawes thinks that something should be done in response to

the public demand on the subject. While admitting that it is primarily an economic question, he thinks that it is in the last analysis a political question. "I maintain," he said, "that the question of the proper legislative treatment of these great combinations and corporations formed for the purpose of monopolistic control of the production and distribution of some of the necessities and comforts of life, is one of the greatest and most practical which has ever confronted the political parties of the nation." This is the nearest Mr. Dawes reached to anything like a tangible statement. To say that these great combinations or corporations are formed for the purpose of monopolistic control has become a very cheap and common utterance. Every political haranguer gets off this indefinite, seemingly important, but utterly empty charge. It is not a question whether combinations and corporations are formed for the purpose of monopolistic control, or in the hope of getting monopolistic control. The question is whether they do it. Almost every enterprising business man would like to get control in his line of business, and if, by borrowing capital or getting his neighbor to join in, he can do it, he will undertake the task.

In considering the remedies and the means through which they should be sought, Mr. Dawes said: "The difficulty of securing uniformity of state legislative treatment emphasizes the necessity of additional federal laws upon the subject." What kind of legislation should be made uniform he does not hint, but, whatever it is, congress should enact it. It must be admitted that Mr. Bryan's talk is a little superior to this. Mr. Bryan proposes a remedy; it is foolishly absurd, but it has the merit of being a proposition. He says, limit trusts to the states in which they are chartered, until they receive a license from the federal govern-

ment. That is indeed the height of mediæval folly, but it comes nearer being a practical suggestion than the general vague talk of Controller Dawes.

DURING THE last twenty-five years the trade unions in this country have made remarkable progress, not merely in numbers but in intelligence and economic character. They are steadily becoming more and more the means of economic education for workingmen, and their leaders real students of industrial economics. There are few periodicals published in this country that show a more judicious spirit and greater familiarity with the actual working of industrial forces than the *American Federationist*, published by the American Federation of Labor. In discussing the trust question, on which so many people lose their heads, it says:—

"Organized labor looks with apprehension at the many panaceas and remedies offered by theorists to curb the growth and development or destroy the combinations of industry. . . . For our part, we are convinced that the state is not capable of preventing the legitimate development or natural concentration of industry. . . . When industry developed and employers formed companies, the workmen formed unions; when industry concentrated into great combinations, the workingmen formed their national and international unions; as employments became trustified, the toilers organized federations of all unions—local, national and international—such as the American Federation of Labor.

"We shall continue to organize and federate the grand army of labor, and with our mottoes, lesser hours of labor, higher wages, and an elevated standard of life, we shall establish equal and exact justice for all. '*Labor Omnia Vincit.*' "

Besides being good economics this is sound sense. It shows a recognition of and insight into the workings of industrial society, and a realization that workingmen are a part of the social whole, and that their interests in industrial evolution must largely be taken care of by their own friends, and that it is neither their interest nor their duty to try to repress or chain down capi-

tal, but to increase their own capacity to participate in its products. This is so superior to the impulsive, half-baked utterances of Mr. Bryan, and the sensational press which aids and echoes him in his effort to excite the passions instead of enlightning the minds of the masses, that it reads like high-class statesmanship. Instead of trade unions being a menace to the industry and peace of society, as some people flippantly assert, the time is rapidly coming when they will have to be relied upon as the bulwark of public security against the flippant, revolutionary vagaries of sensational politicians. The more we have of such organizations as the Federation of Labor, and the more of such publications as the *American Federationist*, the safer will be the public opinion of the masses and the less dangerous the fliprant tirades of professional politicians.

DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION*

GEORGE HARRIS, D.D., LL.D.

The objects and methods of education engage the attention of thinking people at the present time as never before. This great interest was left, until lately, to professional educators, while the people were comparatively indifferent, but now it is a theme of discussion in magazines and newspapers, on the platform and in conversation. All the way through, from kindergarten to professional school, the aims of education are undergoing severe scrutiny. The college does not escape, but is required to give an account of itself in justification of its achievements and in ready adaptation to the instruction of all who are entitled to the advantages of liberal culture. The decisive question is the question of fitness which the college as truly as the grammar school must answer. Fitness for what? Education is a means to an end. What end? Since, directly or indirectly, the people are taxed for the support of the college, since the college is a public institution, a liberal education should prepare men for service in society, for citizenship in the free state. The subject, therefore, to which, without further preface, I invite your attention is "The Man of Letters in a Democracy." The function of cultivated men in the modern state determines the aims and methods of their education. Every question of the college concerning choice of studies, modes of instruction, physical culture and religious life must be answered in view of the function of the man of letters in a democracy. He is not always

*Address delivered upon inauguration as President of Amherst College, October 11, 1899. Authorized copy, reprinted by special permission, with certain indicated omissions.

successful in finding his place, nor, indeed, in finding any place among the people. Yet no man is capable of rendering greater service, and therefore of sustaining greater obligation to the state, than the man of letters.

A few axioms, briefly stated, define democracy. It is more than a form of government, since it exists under various forms of government. The function of the citizen involves more than voting and holding office, although these duties are important. Every value of life is included in the state, or better, all values are co-ordinated in the state. For democracy maintains and assures two things, freedom and justice. To every man his right,—that is justice. It also is freedom. Every man, therefore, must defend the right of every other man, must see to it that his own objects do not conflict with the righteous and rightful objects of others, for thus only can all have freedom with justice. The right of every man is this: that he should make the most and best of himself, that he should possess and enjoy all the values he is able to possess and enjoy. Hence the material, intellectual, domestic, æsthetic, moral and religious values are included and are protected in democracy which insures justice and freedom to all and to each. The attainment of one man is more largely in this direction, of another in that, but the state guarantees the right of every man in that freedom which regards the right of others to possess and enjoy all the legitimate values of life. Democracy is the true individualism, for it regards every person as an end, never as a means or a tool. It makes for the well-being of each, and therefore guards every institution, the family, the school, the church,—protects every pursuit that creates values, from the material to the spiritual, in a word, is itself the institute of justice and so of the freedom that is grounded in justice. Democracy is the true socialism, which is not paternalism, but is self-government by

which free individuals so regulate society, that is, regulate themselves, that each may have the utmost freedom that is compatible with the freedom of other individuals in attaining the values of personal and social life. These axioms, put concretely, mean bread-winning and bread-eating; that is, just economic conditions. They mean home and friendship, they mean science and art, they mean free religion, they mean the things the state does as a state—laws, rules, courts, tariffs, taxes, expansion or limitation of territory. In all these things, democracy protects and even helps every man in coming to his own. . . .

I need not say that democracy has not yet in any state fully secured its object, but the social ideal of democracy is the divine order of humanity, and it is the duty of every one to promote that ideal; by criticism, by reform, by eternal vigilance; by intelligent voting, by active influence, by fraternity; above all and through all by acting his own part as the righteous citizen in the free state, making the most and the best of himself, making his pursuit contribute to the common weal and thus converting the actual into the ideal republic. Surely modern democracy, if this view of it is correct, is roomy enough even for the man of letters,—especially for the man of letters.

Three attitudes now, may be taken toward the democracy in which we have our habitation. One attitude is withdrawal. One may insulate oneself from vital concern in the actual life of the people. Having an assured income provided by others, a man may devote himself to pleasure, to travel, to literary culture, putting himself practically out of relation to the world of human struggle and attainment. Religiously this was the monastic life of the middle ages,—out in the wilderness, out of the world. The gentleman of leisure leading a luxurious life is the secular monk. The lit-

erary dilettante is the intellectual or æsthetic monk. The pietist who would save his soul by not doing certain things is the modern religious monk.

The second attitude is the parasitic, or even more strongly, the piratical. One may go into the democracy for what one can get out of it for oneself, looking on the existing order as an arrangement out of which something can be had for one's own comfort or pleasure. Such a one would exploit democracy for his own benefit and pay as light a tax as possible. The generations and contemporaries have established a society holding certain values, and the exploiter, like a thief in the night, breaks through and steals. The state saves him the trouble of maintaining a band of armed retainers. Laws and courts are good, for they protect him in his thieving. The army is at his back that he may till his vineyard and run his mill. The one maxim of the pirate in a democracy is, "My rights, your duties."

The third attitude is the reciprocal. A man looks out on democracy and contributes to it, putting in as much as he takes out, or more, paying his full tax, making his pursuit part of a whole which is for good. He is a Christian citizen of the modern world. His maxim for at least half of his life is, "Your rights, my duties."

The man of letters, by whom I mean the man that is liberally educated, the cultivated man, for practical purposes the college man—although there are men of letters that never saw a college and college men that are uneducated,—the man of letters is expected to take this last attitude of contributing his part in promoting the ends of democracy, putting in as much as he takes out. He has been loudly accused of taking the first attitude of insulating himself from public affairs, or at best of holding aloof as an impractical critic of the order of things, of standing on the shore declaring with

many gesticulations how the ship of state should be sailed, but never handling a tiller or pulling a rope. There has been enough of this to bring reproach on academic discussion of affairs. By academic discussion of politics, for example, is meant theoretical, impractical, doctrinaire. But there is an important and indispensable part for the man of talent and education to play. I do not say that his part is more essential than that of the average working man, for all parts are necessary in the social organism. The eye cannot say to the hand, "I have no need of thee." But also the hand cannot say to the eye, "I have no need of thee." The state needs citizens of intellectual ability, of character and of high standards for leaders, rulers and teachers, and has a right to look to the college for them. The college is an integral part of the system of education maintained by the state, and therefore the state has claims upon college-bred men. It is of little consequence whether colleges are established directly by the state or are privately endowed. In the latter case, the state grants immunities and exemptions and refrains from maintaining colleges and universities of its own. By cherishing higher educational interests, the state signifies its need of cultivated men in the professions, in business, in legislation. By a process of selection, young men of promise and ambition continue their education for several years that they may render service of a higher order than manual labor,—the service of leadership, which is as much needed as manual labor, without which manual labor is inefficient. That is to say, the state expends on a selected class a thorough training that they may be fitted for highest service to the state, whether they hold political office or not. And this class is the real aristocracy.

We have outgrown the crude notion that democracy is equality and that it has no use for an aristocracy.

Some belated doctrinaires are still proposing schemes for equalizing the condition of men, and so for equalizing men. But it is not the problem of democracy to raise all men up nor to draw all men down to a common level. Its problem is to place its best men in its highest places, to put power in the hands of the wisest and most capable persons, to recognize superiority, always to put the right man in the right place. For the aristocracy of birth it has no great regard although it does not forget that blood tells. For the vulgar aristocracy of wealth it has supreme contempt. To the accident of rank and title it is indifferent. But it recognizes the aristocracy of merit, knowledge, character. Democracy would replace the aristocracy of birth by the aristocracy of worth, would set aside the aristocracy that buys place with gold for that which earns place by capability and distinguished service. Democracy needs nothing so much as it needs such an aristocracy. Otherwise it is a mob, a crowd, a horde, a mass of unorganized and disorganized units. The very word "aristocracy" means the rule of the best, the best men in power. If the best men have guidance and control, progress is constantly made. If they are set aside in favor of the incompetent, there is confusion and every evil work. There are enough capable men in the United States to fill all positions of trust and honor, to be a political, economic, intellectual aristocracy. Put them in their rightful places, let the aristocracy of merit be enthroned as well as acknowledged, and there will be that government, that national welfare, that prosperity which constitute social well-being and insure progress. So the state does not regard all citizens as equal and draw rulers and leaders by lot, but wants true, wise, able, educated men for guidance, organization and service. Therefore in a democracy there must be higher education for the few who are fit by nature

and may become fitter by training for leadership. Professor Paulsen, tracing the educational ideal of the future, says that "The society corresponding to that ideal would be that of an aristocracy of mind," and asks, "Is this the type toward which we are leaning? Is the aristocracy of birth and wealth to be supplanted by the aristocracy of personal worth and merit?" "This," he says, "has been the philosopher's dream from the day of Plato's Republic to the present hour." It is the tendency of nature. It would be the aristocracy of nature to have every individual stand independently upon his own personal merit and not upon the achievements of his father, while the influence of heredity, in the sense of the transmission of personal characteristics, would not be diminished. This is the aristocracy to which historical development seems to point. Both church and state have made considerable advancement toward the realization of this ideal of a personal *elite*, by bestowing position and influence according to the degree of personal talent and efficiency, without regard to birth and position.

Education makes this ideal definite. The educated man is aware of the personal and social ideal of democracy, and can direct his energies intelligently toward its realization in the sphere of his own action. The movements of our time affect many who do not understand them. Not until changes have occurred do the uneducated discern them. Anybody can compare the close with the middle of the century and perceive advance in means of locomotion and communication,—even in education, politics and religion. Many who do not understand the significance of great movements are borne along by them to their own material, intellectual and moral advantage. But educated men perceive tendencies in the making and foresee results not yet attained. To be sure, no one can read the future as one reads the

past, for God's purposes in humanity are partly disclosed, partly concealed. Yet there is a direction of the path of progress out of the present into the future, a direction tolerably plain to one who knows the past and knows men. All liberal studies are for the one purpose of showing the ideal—the personal and social ideal,—not only that it may be perceived but that there may be direction toward it in new and changing conditions.

I will not admit the value of any knowledge or discipline which is not a human value contributing to the betterment of men according to the ideal. . . . I will not carry you over the curriculum of studies, although it would give me pleasant opportunity to refer to eminent teachers of the past and present, to show that history, government, philosophy, ethics, economics, the modern literatures, especially English literature, are mastered that one may intelligently take his place to direct himself and his fellows toward the attainment of the ideal in good government, in honest industry, in the pure family, in the Christian church.

This view determines the kind of education to the last detail. It is an old debate whether education is for gaining knowledge or for gaining discipline,—whether it is preparation for a pursuit or preparation for life. That debate is closed. All teachers agree that education is for discipline and that discipline is for citizenship, that is, for life and service in a democracy. The theory that education is a training solely for some pursuit—carpentry, book-keeping, engineering, medicine, law,—is the theory of going into the state for what one can get out of it for oneself. Every one should, indeed, be trained for some pursuit, since a man's first duty is to get his living so that he shall not be a burden on others. But that is not education; it is apprenticeship. It trains the specialist, not the citizen. That theory is giving way all through the grades of education. The

public schools no longer stuff the mind with a mass of heterogeneous facts, to give a smattering of all kinds of knowledge; but they train the powers of observation and judgment so that scholars can study for themselves,—the best preparation, indeed, for any pursuit. They reduce the number of studies so that there may be thorough training. They stimulate a taste for reading so that if the child leaves school at the age of fourteen years he will know something more than how to add figures correctly. Even manual training is not to make blacksmiths, but to train eye and hand. Higher up in education we are suspicious of a training which is exclusively technical and professional. Technical schools include history, literature and languages as well as mathematics, sciences and the use of tools. Professional schools insist on the college degree. Of course, there can be no culture without knowledge, for the mind and truth are correlative. The mind cannot be disciplined by working out curious puzzles. Discipline is the power of gaining knowledge, and that power can be trained only by actual investigation and acquisition.

Granting that culture is the primary object of education, it does not follow that there is only one kind of discipline, as the classical,—that the ancient languages and mathematics are the only regimen for making the man of letters . . . , . European and American history have as great value as ancient history both for knowledge and for training. Economics and the sciences are indispensable knowledges to the liberally educated man of to-day. These studies could not be pursued at the time of the revival of the classical languages. European history was in the making. The American commonwealth did not exist. The historical method was unknown. English, German and French literature, speaking broadly, had not been called into being. Natural science was not

born. Astronomy was geocentric, chemistry was alchemy, while zoology, biology and anthropology were not dreamed of. Is there really sufficient reason now for giving preëminence to the classical training, for valuing the degree which stands especially for that training above the degree which stands for knowledge of modern science, history, language and literature? Is there, indeed, any reason why one degree should not stand for both kinds of training, since both are a liberal education, a true culture, since both produce the man of letters? I have said no word in disparagement of classical education, but I am bold to maintain that it has ceased to have the right of way and that it can no longer arrogate to itself superiority over education in modern literature, history and science, especially since those studies are now added to some extent to the classical course. More than that, I believe that the classical and mathematical education without the modern is inferior to the modern without the classical. My judgment is formed from the point of view of the man of letters in a democracy. The classical training alone does not fit him for his rightful place in the world, while modern literatures, history, science and economics do train him for service in the republic. These opinions are by no means novel nor startling. This object of education is recognized to a large degree in all the colleges and universities. The progress which has been made and the evolution which is to proceed are in that direction. . . .

The college community itself is a democracy in miniature. It is the most democratic community in existence. Men are not estimated here by false standards, least of all by wealth. No student is despised nor neglected because he is poor, nor flattered and admired because he is rich. Talent, merit, worth, character are the dominant standards. Indeed, a student may be

handicapped by wealth, may not have as fair a chance as others in the race, must be superior in a marked degree to overcome prejudice. "He is rich but he is a first-rate fellow; he has plenty of money but he is a good scholar, a fine athlete, an all-round man." Colleges have, it is true, artificial standards. It is not good form to talk of oneself, to wear clothes of a particular cut, to make advances to higher classmen, to associate with professors, and what not. In his Freshman year, by some trifling act or heedless speech, a man may damn himself so that he never recovers his place. In such ways, few men are so cruel as students. Yet, on the whole, men are estimated at their value. Generosity, honor, sincerity, culture, obtain rightful recognition. The peculiar institutions of the college, such as the fraternities, which may be a source of evil may also be opportunities for checking narrowness, for teaching men to live in democratic relations to all, while enjoying to the full legitimate groupings by affinity. The college is fatal to favoritism, for its principles are freedom and justice, the principles of fair play, the principles of democracy.

CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL NOTES

California Universities

With the Stanford wealth behind one of its great universities and the Hearst wealth behind another, California bids fair to step into the very front rank in the matter of magnificently equipped educational institutions. The new buildings of the University of California, to be erected on the slope of Grizzly Peak, overlooking the Golden Horn, will be as fine probably as are possessed by any similar institution in this country. The designs for these buildings, made by the French architect Bénard, won a competitive prize of \$10,000. On the other hand, Leland Stanford, Jr., University, at Palo Alto, has or will have when it comes into possession of all its property the largest endowment of any educational institution in the world.

All this is a sign that the traditional supremacy of New England as the educational center of the country is being seriously threatened; but it is a sort of rivalry that the nation can witness with no misgivings. It means, not that the eastern colleges are to decline, but that we are having and shall have a steady addition to and expansion of the educational opportunities of the whole country. California is to be congratulated, and with her the whole country, because such institutions as are there being reared are of no merely state or local limitation but, broadly speaking, belong to the nation.

Now for a National Civic Federation

The movement to expand the Chicago Civic Federation into a national organization ought by all means to succeed. The first test (the trust conference) of the Federation's plan for securing dispassionate and truly representative non-partisan discussion of public questions was so successful

that the idea really must not be permitted to decline. If a National Civic Federation, based on this theory of public discussion, were to be formed it would finally become a recognized arbiter and authoritative index of public opinion, regardless of the distractions and counter-interests of party politics. In the state branches of the Federation important state issues could be debated by men of all parties or no party, while the national organization could become a forum for the discussion of broad, far-reaching national questions,

All support and encouragement should be given to the promoters of the Civic Federation plan in their new attempt. Their success would be one of the most hopeful influences witnessed in our public life in many a year. It would do much toward removing democratic institutions from the uncertain and shifting sands of party prejudice and popular passion, and setting them upon the firm rock of intelligent, fair-minded and influence-creating discussion of all the great problems affecting the safety and welfare of the nation.

**Occupations of
College
Graduates**

Some interesting figures have lately appeared showing the occupations chosen by graduates of Yale University. Comparison is made between the students graduating in recent years and their fathers. It appears that 34.4 per cent. of recent graduates have entered the law, while only 19.3 per cent. of their fathers chose that profession. Medicine claims 9.2 per cent, but took only 5.2 per cent. of the fathers. Teaching and science have also grown in popularity, attracting 12.5 per cent. of the sons as contrasted with less than 3 per cent. of the fathers. The ministry has declined from 10.1 per cent. to 6.7 per cent. but the total of the learned professions has increased from 37.5 per cent. in the case of the fathers to 62.8 per cent. in that of the sons, while

the proportion of those entering business pursuits has declined from 50.7 per cent. to 30 per cent.

There is something not wholly gratifying about this showing. The case may not be so pronounced in all the other universities, but unquestionably it reflects a general trend. The implication is, of course, that colleges and universities are tending to become training schools for the learned professions. In other words, young men who decide upon a business career do not consider a college course important to anything like the degree that it was so regarded by their fathers. The institutions of higher learning are recognizing and endeavoring to counteract this by suppressing the importance of classical studies and emphasizing those of practical importance. Still, we suspect that many and long strides will have to be taken in the direction of making college training give direct preparation for active life, whether it is to be business or professional, and afford information and guidance on the economic and civic questions that present themselves to citizens, before any large proportion of prospective business men return to college halls. The influence of many well-known business men in positively advising against college training for a business career has had great weight. It is too bad that such a view should have any justification; and it certainly will not when university courses are thoroughly re-adapted to the requirements of modern life.

A Correction In the second line from the top of page 307, article on "Better Division of Labor in Schools," in our October number, a typographical error made Mr. Edwards speak of his proposed reformed system as resulting in "increased cost of production." Of course, this should have read "decreased."

THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

Red Cross Relief In Cuba

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Please accept thanks for a copy of your magazine, kindly sent, which speaks for itself, full of healthy life and promise. Success to it!

We are grateful to know that you are to call special attention to our circular concerning the Red Cross work for the reconcentrados in some future number of your magazine, and sincerely trust that it will be productive of good to the needy people of Cuba.

CLARA BARTON,
President American National Red Cross.

Mr. Edwards' Next Article

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—The editorial on my paper in the October number is, in my opinion, right to the point and ought to make live men take an interest in the subject that the mere reading of the paper itself would not bring about. Thank you for the comment.

I hope the next in my series will be one to bring out even more interest than this one may. It will certainly be on a subject that needs stirring fully as much

as the one considered in the paper mentioned. I shall call it: "What Shall be Done with the Course of Study?"

Permit me to congratulate the magazine on its improved and very creditable appearance. May it have a large circulation, as it certainly ought to have.

W. F. EDWARDS, Orchard Lake, Mich.

Sound Banking vs. Free Silver

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—The order of logical dependence in the currency and money question in the United States, is, as it seems to me, as follows:

First: We cannot have a cessation of the agitation for free silver, as a form of the demand for abundance of money and low rates of interest in the south and west, until we have either a costless bank currency adequate to the wants of those sections or a reversion to the silver basis through free coinage.

Second: We cannot have a costless bank currency until the banks can issue notes based on their own solvency, and this cannot be safely permitted until we have a branch relation between the smaller and the larger, culminating in a Bank of the United States; also a repeal of the legal tender act, and a restoration of the duty of banks to redeem their notes in coin.

Third. We cannot have that independence of the American monetary system from those of foreign states which Bryan desires (as to coinage) until we have a Bank of the United States, capable by its great credit of attracting coin.

Fourth. Delmar credits the Bank of England with exercising a supreme influence in all parts of the United States. I do not. Others credit the Rothschilds with a like influence. I do not. But so far as our finance is in a state of colonial dependence upon foreign capital-

ists, at a time when American private fortunes, in three instances, are larger than any foreign, we can attain supremacy and independence by enlisting the great American capitals in a Bank of the United States with a branch system.

Fifth. The prevailing tendency toward the federalization of productive capitals which finds a name in the word, "trusts," implies as its logical sequence a federalization of banking throughout the United States into one institution.

Sixth. Since the deposits of the Rockefellers and perhaps one or two others of our great capitalists have gone into the National City Bank, its strength in deposits, rising to \$150,000,000, shows our tendency toward the evolution of some one bank which will command the others in the degree essential to the highest organization.

V. B. DENSLow, New York City.

Y. M. C. A. Educational Work

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Many thanks for the copies of the October number of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. I have enjoyed looking over this new number with a great deal of interest. I congratulate your company on the production of so fine a magazine, and sincerely trust it will receive the careful reading which it so richly deserves.

Our educational prospectus this year, containing the standard courses of study in which we are all directly interested, is much larger than last year. It contains the six added courses in German, Spanish, Stenography, Typewriting, Anglo-American History and Social Economics.

You may be interested also in the report of the Fourth International Educational Exhibit, held in connection with our convention in Grand Rapids last May.

This pamphlet contains a list of associations winning awards of merit on their exhibits. The pamphlet entitled "Educational Clubs" is an interesting addition. Its author, Mr. Wood, of Chicago, has been quite successful in developing educational interests through these channels.

Three thousand, two hundred and eighty-five young men participated in the recent examinations. One thousand, one hundred and forty-six papers marked seventy-five or above were received by the various examiners. Out of these nine hundred and seventy-two, or two hundred and twenty more than last year, have been passed.

GEORGE B. HODGE,
Secretary, Educational Department, International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, New York City.

Labor Union Congress at Paris Exposition
Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—The first international congress of workingmen's associations of production (co-operative manufacturing societies) will be held, under the patronage of the French Government, in the *Palais des Congres* of the Exposition of 1900 during the three days beginning July 13th. It will also be the first reunion of the French associations, although their consulting chamber, which has taken the initiative of the congress, has been in existence since 1884. Out of 200 French societies and associations, 110 have already given their support to the congress. It appeals, in other countries, to government departments of labor, to cooperative federations, and to all cooperative production or manufacturing societies. The *Palais des Congres*, in which the greater part of the hundred and more official congresses of the Exposition are to be

held, is being constructed by ten of these associations in Paris, which are proud to have been awarded the contract in competition with individual contractors.

The congress will receive as members either the delegates of workingmen's associations of production, or individual members when duly accredited. Ladies are admitted as active members. The language of the congress will be French, but English and German may also be used. The subscription fee, as for the other cooperative congresses, is 5 francs. National reports and communications showing the character of the work in different countries are desired; they must be presented at least three months before the opening of the congress.

The work of the congress will be divided under three heads:

- (1) The philosophy of cooperation, its roots, ideals, moral tendencies—human solidarity, association of workingmen without reference to religion or politics.
- (2) Cooperation from the industrial point of view (the main work of the congress).
- (3) Relations of production associations with supply societies; trade unions, etc., and international relations.

HOWARD J. ROGERS,
Director, Education and Social Economy;
United States Commission
to the Paris Exposition of 1900.

QUESTION BOX

The Franchise in England

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Please to tell me what is the present standing of England on the franchise? Since June, 1898, "Gladstone's Public Career," the Magazine and Bulletin have said, as far as I can see, nothing more about it. The last said was on page 432, Vol. XIV., the "rat-catchers' franchise," and on page 435: "Another agitation was undertaken for extension of the franchise, this time to the agricultural laborers—that is, to the counties. Mr. Gladstone took up the cause of this reform." There it stops. But I think, on the spur of the excitement at Gladstone's death, a bill suddenly introduced, for unlimited franchise, was carried with enthusiasm. I lost record of that, and would thank you for posting me up on it.

F. BAARE, Wilkesbarre, Pa.

The present status of the franchise in England is the same as that in which it was left by the Gladstone, or rather Disraeli, bill, which contained the "rat-catcher's franchise" in 1868, with the exception that in 1874 it was amended so as to extend the franchise then existing in boroughs to the counties. In other words, the franchise now stands thus: that every householder has a vote, regardless of property, who lives in a given place at the time of registration; also, the lodger franchise, which was originally introduced to provide for single men, "boarding," as we call it in this country, in London and large cities, also extends throughout the country. So that, every householder can vote, and also every lodger paying a certain amount for his lodgings. It is practically manhood suffrage.

Labor Unions and Strikes

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—What, would you say, has been the effect of labor unions on the frequency, size and effectiveness of strikes; and what has been the effect of strikes on non-unionists and non-strikers?

R. H., Williamstown, Mass.

At first the result of labor organization is to increase strikes; later, as organization develops and broadens out, it lessens strikes. Poorly organized labor is likely to strike upon impulse, without reflection and preparation. The more completely laborers are organized the more careful they are about exhausting all other means of settling a dispute before they have recourse to a strike, because a strike that fails hurts their unions and their reputation as well as absorbs their funds. On the other hand, the size of strikes has very much increased. Organization tends to make strikes more and more inclusive, extending even to what are called sympathetic strikes.

There is some very valuable data on the matter of strikes in the report of the national Labor Bureau for 1887. The Third Annual Report of the Commissioner is devoted exclusively to strikes and lockouts. It shows that in the states where trade unions are fewest, and strikes less numerous, wages are lowest and the proportion of strikes that fail is greatest. Thus, for instance, in the period for 1881 to 1886 inclusive, in Louisiana 95% of the strikes that were inaugurated failed; 61-1-2% in Kentucky, 47% in Alabama; 20% failed, 71% partly succeeded and only 9% succeeded, in Texas; whereas in Massachusetts only 19% failed, 46% were partly successful and 35% completely succeeded; in New Jersey 67% were entirely successful and in New York 51%.

Lockouts in Kentucky all succeeded; in Texas 75% of the lockouts succeeded; whereas in Massachusetts 59% of the lockouts succeeded, in New Jersey 28% and in New York 11%. Taking all the lockouts together, in 1882 35% failed, in 1883 43% failed, in 1884 71% failed, in 1885 58% failed, in 1886 60% failed; showing that, with the exception of 1884, the tendency has gradually been for a larger and larger number of lockouts to fail. In other words, while strikes are larger they are more cautiously undertaken and more largely successful in states where labor unions are most numerous and efficient; and, vice versa, lockouts on the part of corporations are least effective where trade unions are best organized.

The effect of labor union strikes on non-unionists and non-strikers has been the same as the results of all fights for new things are for the non-fighters. When the unions succeed in raising wages the non-unionists get the higher wages, ultimately if not immediately; when the unions succeed in shortening the hours, the non-unionists get the benefit; when the strikers fail, the non-unionists often take their places and never help to pay the bills. In short, the union men are those who fight the battles and accomplish the improvements, and the non-union men share the benefits.

BOOK REVIEWS

ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OF ECONOMICS. By Charles H. Chase. Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago. 405 pp. 1899.

In the preface to this book the author explains that he gives no bibliography and few references, mainly because most of the books that have been written are of very little account, and that it is better for the student "to read this book without collateral reading in works which I believe are to a considerable degree misleading."

In many respects Mr. Chase does not follow the traditional lines traversed by economists. He makes a great many fastidious distinctions, using some terms not at all familiar in standard economic literature, and he endeavors in not a few instances to reduce the propositions to mathematical formulæ.

After reading the preface and entering upon the preliminary chapters of the book, one is led to expect the presentation of some new doctrine. If this is justified at all it is on the question of money. To this subject the author devotes considerable space, and, while endeavoring to follow the form of a text-book and state both sides of the proposition, he definitely shows the hand of a free-silver advocate. Indeed the real object of the author seems to have been to re-write, without any important additions, political economy from the point of view of the free coinage of silver; in short, to weave in the doctrine of the free coinage of silver as a part of the science of economics.

While regarding all previous discussions of value as misleading, he gives the following as a definition of value, and prints it in italics:

"Value is the quantitative measure of one object of

desire, expressed in terms of another, as determined by the balance of mental forces dictating how much of a commodity in possession shall be relinquished for one not in possession, rather than undergo the irksomeness of the effort necessary to produce the latter or suffer the privation of its non-possession."

It is difficult to see just wherein this elaborate definition adds any clearness to the idea of value. On most other subjects the newness of statement is of similar character. On the question of wages, for instance, he does not even define what wages are, whether they are of the same character as profits or rents or entirely different. He opposes the wage-fund theory, but apparently presents none other except that wages are governed by qualified supply and demand. The nearest he comes to stating any theory is in a paragraph at the close of the chapter, in italics: "*Competition, as a force in distribution, tends to the equilibration of wages of labor in accordance with the rule of reward in proportion to the service rendered.*"

Unlike most economic writers, even of the free-silver school, Mr. Chase is a protectionist. He combats the free-trade doctrines and discusses the claims of protection, but he brings no new thought to the subject. He repeats rather tersely the infant industry theory, and the theory that every nation should do its own work, and in fact all the stock statements regarding protection, but there is not a suggestion of the broader philosophic grasp of the subject which treats protection as a universal function of government and as a permanent influence in civilization, in guarding the new and higher types of industrial, social and political life against the older and lower types. He discusses the subject purely as a matter of import duties, which is the narrowest and most local of all views of the subject.

On the question of banking he illustrates the working of ordinary banking systems and explains the national banking system, the state banking system and the postal banking system, but the discussion is wholly barren of the least suggestion of the scientific principles of banking. It is more like the explanation of the working of a machine than the discussion of a fiscal principle.

To the question of money and exchange, however, he applies himself at great length. He breaks out against the gold monometalists, and practically charges that the gold standard is an instrument of conspiracy to rob the community in the interests of a small monied class. In fact on this subject our author is wonderfully like Mr. Wharton Barker in "*Coin's Financial School*." Whenever a writer descends to the level of explaining a general economic or fiscal doctrine, which is advocated by the scholars and statesmen of any country, as an active conspiracy to cheat the people, he may fairly be exonerated from the suspicion of being a scientific economist.

The book is rather well written, conveniently divided up for class-room work, but is neither a good exposition of accepted economic doctrines nor a presentation of anything perceptibly new. As already stated, the only feature which savors of newness is the attempt to establish the claim for free coinage of silver as the standard money metal.

The charge the author makes in the preface against all previous economic writers "of losing sight of the causes of material prosperity," fully obtains against his own book. The important social problems arising in connection with the great labor movement, which are at the very basis of social welfare, receive very meagre and unsatisfactory treatment.

OUTLINE OF PRACTICAL SOCIOLOGY; WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO AMERICAN CONDITIONS. By Carroll D. Wright, LL.D., United States Commissioner of Labor. Cloth, crown 8vo. With maps and diagrams. 431 pp. \$2.00. Longmans, Green & Co., New York and London.

This book is chiefly a collection of sociological and industrial data, interspersed with descriptive and explanatory matter showing the relation of the statistics to social problems. There is comparatively little discussion of sociological theory or the philosophy of social organization and conditions.

This does not necessarily imply criticism of the book, however. Its avowed purpose is to throw light on sociological problems by means of intelligently selected data, properly explained and correlated; and this it does. The comprehensive scope of the volume appears from the most cursory inspection of the table of contents. Part I. discusses "The Basis of Practical Sociology" and includes a large amount of population data. Part II. is on "Units of Social Organism," treating the social, religious, labor and other political associations. Part III. deals with "Questions of Population," such as immigration, urban and rural population, and special problems of city life. Part IV. on "Questions of the Family," discusses marriage and divorce, education, and the employment of women and children. Part V. relates to "The Labour System" and covers old and new labor systems, relations of employer and employee, and strikes and lockouts. Part VI. takes up "Social Well-being," under such heads as the accumulation of wealth, poverty, art, and material conditions. Part VII. is on "The Defence of Society," and includes discussion of criminology, punishment of crime, the liquor problem, regulation of organizations, etc. Part VIII. is entitled "Remedies," and discusses proposed

solutions for economic and social difficulties. This, which might well be one of the longest sections of the book, is in reality the shortest, and the discussion of proposed remedies is somewhat inconsequential. Still, the very concluding sentence of the book is an admirable statement of the true function of sociological science, or its excuse for being. "The science, and this volume as a contribution to the science, have no function or reason for existence if they do not help us to adapt our social institutions to mankind as they are made, and equally to do our part to bring about that rise of human character which must be the foundation of social reform."

From out the mass of interesting matter compressed into this small compass we can specially note only a few points at random. One, for instance, touches the immigration problem. In our October number appeared a letter from one of our correspondents, asking what has been done toward restriction of immigration. In reply we said that so little has been accomplished that practically nobody is deterred from at least trying to enter the country, and with a fair chance of success. Dr. Wright enumerates exactly what laws have been passed, and comes to practically the same decision about them. He says:

"The first attempt in this direction was the exclusion of the Chinese, and in this direction law has been very efficacious. The total number of Chinese in the country grew from 1870 to 1880 by the difference between 63,199 and 125,465, but in 1890 it was only 107,425.

"The next method of restriction was in the shape of laws regulating the importation of labourers under contract. It was formerly the custom of employers of labour to make contracts with prospective immigrants before leaving their homes; then, when they arrived in this country, to put them at work in accordance with the contract. This practice became offensive, and was prohibited by Federal law in 1885. Some of the States have regulated the employment, under certain circumstances, of imported labourers on government works, through the agency of contractors. In New York such laws have been declared unconstitutional.

"These two measures have accomplished practically nothing in retarding immigration."

The chapters dealing with redistribution of city population are very optimistic. The author shows how extremely small is the percentage of increase of population in the congested sections of our great cities, and how large the relative increase in the suburbs. Of course, there is a sense in which this way of putting the subject is deceptive. Take a slum section which is already crowded to overflowing, and a very small percentage of increase of population represents a highly disproportionate augmentation of miserable and intolerable conditions. There is, actually, a slight gain in the population of our congested city sections, while in fact there ought to be a steady thinning out. The movement of population is constantly away from the slum centers, but the situation is discouraging when we find that enough more foreigners are constantly coming in to more than fill the vacancies and slowly increase the already insufferable density.

Nevertheless, the other side of the movement is positively encouraging, and shows what our cities may become when we are courageous enough to stop the inflow of degradation at the bottom. Dr. Wright adds to his American data on this subject some highly interesting information on the movement of population in London, as presented by Mr. Sidney J. Low in the *Contemporary Review* for October, 1891. Said Mr. Low:

"The center of population is shifting from the heart to the limbs. The life-blood is pouring into the long arms of brick and mortar and cheap stucco that are feeling their way out to the Surrey moors and the Essex flats and the Hertfordshire copses. Already 'Outer London' is beginning to vie in population with the 'Inner Ring,' a few decades hence, and it will have altogether passed it.

"The population is not shifting from the fields to the slums; and the slums themselves are not becoming fuller, but the reverse. So far from the heart of the city being congested with the blood driven from the extremities, we find, on the contrary, that the larger centers of population are stationary, or thinning down; it is districts all around them which are filling up. The greatest advance in the decade is shown not

in the cities themselves, but in the ring of suburbs which spread into the country about them. If the process goes on unchecked, the Englishman of the future will be of the city, but not in it. The son and grandson of the man from the fields will neither be a dweller in the country nor a dweller in the town. He will be a suburb-dweller. The majority of the people of this island will live in the suburbs; and the suburban type will be the most widespread and characteristic of all, as the rural has been in the past, and as the urban may perhaps be said to be in the present."

In discussing city problems Dr. Wright of course comes to the subject of municipal ownership. He quotes at length from the report published in February, 1898, of the special committee appointed by Governor Wolcott, of Massachusetts, to make an exhaustive investigation of this subject. This committee went into the matter in a most thorough manner, investigating the experience of foreign cities, and such experiments as have been undertaken in this country. The report was drawn up by Charles Francis Adams, and reflects, in the language of our author, "the view, probably, of all enlightened students of the subject." So much has been passing current in the American press and serious economic discussions, concerning the wonderful success of English and Scotch experiments in municipal ownership of street railways, that we think it will be useful to quote some of the findings of this committee upon the subject:

"So far as development, activity, and material and scientific appliances and equipment are concerned, apart from permanent way and track surface, the American street railway service is so far in advance of any to be found in Great Britain as not to admit of a comparison. Without exaggeration, it may be said that, while the street surfacing, and merging of track with pavement, are there far in advance of what we ordinarily find in America, all the other appliances and accommodations are either antiquated and positively bad, or recently taken from this side of the Atlantic and installed by American companies. In other words, in the field of scientific apparatus and mechanical development, America has experimented at immense cost, as our street railway capitalization shows, while Europe has patiently waited, and is to-day rapidly and quietly appropriating the results for which we have paid. . . .

"As yet no attempt at the municipalization of street railways has

been made in any country on a sufficiently large scale and for a long enough time to be of real significance. Glasgow and Leeds, for instance, are the two European instances more frequently referred to. From the statements often met with in the press, and the assertions heard in discussion, it might well be assumed that the experiments made in these cities amounted to an indisputable and established success; whereas, in point of fact, such is not the case. So far from being a demonstrated success, it may, on the contrary, be confidently asserted that nowhere, as yet, has the experiment of municipalization of street railways been worked out to any logical and ultimate result whatever, nor can it be so worked out for at least a score of years to come. Even then, political habits, social traditions, and material and economical conditions vary so greatly, and enter to so large an extent into the problem, that it will not be safe to infer that what may have proved safe and practicable in one community is either practicable or safe in another. At the present time, the municipalization of the street railways is not accepted as by any means indisputably desirable in Great Britain, while in Germany it is regarded unfavorably. This last fact is the more noteworthy, as Germany has been the field in which State ownership and management of steam railroads has been developed to the fullest extent, and with results pronounced to be unquestionable, as well as most satisfactory."

Considerable space is devoted to the question of the material and social well-being of the masses. Facts are presented from various and diverse sources showing the steady upward tendency of wages, and the decline, or at least stableness, of the cost of living, as well as the decline in the hours of labor. This furnishes a refutation to the hackneyed and almost universally accepted idea that "The rich are growing richer and the poor poorer." As Dr. Wright emphatically declares:

"The doctrine is a false one, false in its premises and misleading in its influence; for it has so deceived the people as to develop a sharp and growing antagonism between those who do not prosper to the extent of their ambition and those who have carried the accumulation of wealth far beyond the reasonable ambition of any man. . . . To the investigator the real statement should be, The rich are growing richer; many more people than formerly are growing rich; and the poor are growing better off."

In the following extract he goes to the heart of this matter, and touches the prime fallacy which lies at the bottom of popular delusion on the subject, *viz.*: the

idea that wealth is stationary, and that an increase of well-being to one group means impoverishment of some other:

"If the sum total of wealth were stationary, any increase in the wealth of the rich would be an exploitation of the poor, and then it would be true that the poor are in poorer circumstances than formerly. But the sum total of wealth is not stationary; it increases with great rapidity, and while under this increase the capitalistic side secures a greater relative advantage than the wage-earner of the profits of production, the wage-earner secures an advantage which means the improvement of his condition. It has been shown by private inquiry in New York and Boston that the largest estates fifty years ago constituted a much larger proportion of the wealth of those cities than do the same number of large estates to-day. . . . As a psychological matter, fortunes must be unequal. This principle is nowhere better stated than by Abraham Lincoln: 'Property is desirable, is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. Let no man who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built.'"

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

ECONOMIC, SOCIOLOGICAL AND CIVIC

Elementary Principles of Economics. By Charles H. Chase. Cloth, 405 pp., \$1.25. Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago. This is an attempt to cover rather fully the fundamental principles of economic science, as interpreted by the author; and is reviewed elsewhere in these pages.

The Psychology of Socialism. By Gustave Le Bon. Demy 8vo, 415 pp. \$3.00 net. The Macmillan Company, New York and London. This is a criticism of the socialistic doctrines prevalent in continental Europe. M. Le Bon is the author of two other volumes that have been published in this country, "The Psychology of Peoples" and "The Crowd."

The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century. A Study in Statistics. By Adna Ferrin Weber, Ph.D.

Sometime University Fellow in Economics and Social Science in Columbia University. 495 pp., paper, \$3.50; cloth, \$4.00. The Macmillan Company, New York and London. This is a very exhaustive study of the subject, covering the history and statistics of urban growth, its causes, the structure of city populations, natural cityward movement of population, physical and moral health of city and country, effects of concentration of population, tendencies and remedies.

HISTORICAL

The History of the New World Called America. By Edward John Payne, Fellow of University College, Oxford. Crown 8vo, cloth. Volume I., \$3.00; Volume II., \$3.50. Oxford University Press, American Branch, 91 to 93 Fifth Avenue, New York. Deals exhaustively with American aboriginal conditions, and presents a comprehensive collection of information hitherto available only by difficult special research.

Russia in Asia, 1558-1899. A Record and a Study. By Alexis Krausse. With 12 maps, appendix and index; 8vo, \$4.00. Henry Holt & Co., New York. A four-century review of Russian policy in the Orient, written from the British point of view.

The History of the People of the United States. By John Bach McMaster. Volume V. Cloth 8vo, with maps. D. Appleton & Co., New York, Boston and Chicago. Price, \$2.50. Professor McMaster's history, which will be complete in six volumes, has now reached the fifth. It covers the period of the administrations of John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson, and includes many topics of interest to the economic student.

Hallam's Middle Ages. New edition, with colored maps. Cloth, 12mo, \$1.50. T. Y. Crowell & Company, New York and Boston. That new editions of Hallam

should be forthcoming at this date shows the permanence and undisputed authority of his masterly chronicle of Europe during the formative period of modern civilization.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

BENJAMIN H. SANBORN & COMPANY, BOSTON, MASS.

The Vision of Sir Launfal and Other Poems. By James Russell Lowell. Edited, with introduction and notes, by Ellen A. Vinton, M. A. (Wellesley). No. 4 in Cambridge Literature Series. Paper, 63 pp., 50 cents.

Evangeline: A Tale of Acadie. By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Edited, with introduction and notes, by Agnes Lathe, A. M., late Associate Professor of English, Women's College, Baltimore. No. 5 in Cambridge Literature Series. Paper, 142 pp. 50 cents.

FUNK & WAGNALLS COMPANY, NEW YORK AND LONDON.

The Expert Cleaner; A Handbook of Practical Information. By Hervey J. Seaman. Flexible cloth, 12mo, 286 pp., 75 cents.

FROM OCTOBER MAGAZINES

"Out of the East, Light; a light of destruction. From the West, Peace—peace by which nations shall thrive and all mankind rejoice!"—A. MAURICE LOW, in "Russia, England, and the United States;" *The Forum*.

"When Admiral Dewey wanted to make Admiral von Diederichs, the German commander, penitent, he sent him over a leg of frozen mutton, and straightway there was a temporary lull in German activity."—Hon. JOHN BARRETT, in "Admiral George Dewey;" *Harper's Magazine*.

"From henceforth every reflecting Frenchman knows that he may be accused of any crime, condemned on evidence he has never heard of, banished, tormented in body and mind, and that hardly a soul among his countrymen will care whether he is getting justice or injustice."—G. W. STEEVENS in "France as Affected by the Dreyfus Case;" *Harper's Magazine*.

"Man as a base-line for measuring the universe, man as a source of governing power, arose in Greece; it was Greece that shaped the law of beauty from which came the arts of form, the law of speculative truth from which by ordered observations came the sciences, the law of liberty from which came the democratic state."—Prof. BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, in "Alexander the Great;" *Century Magazine*.

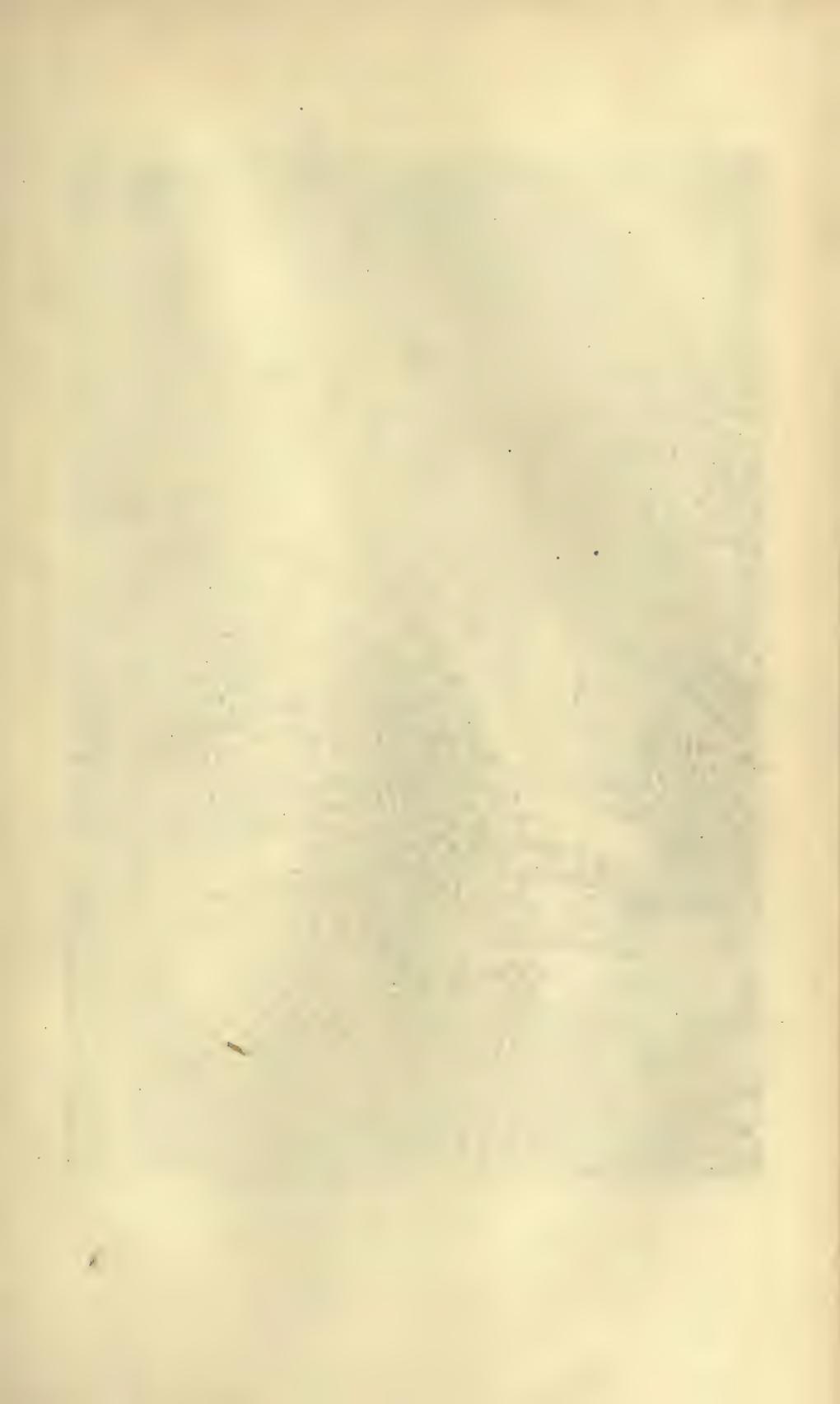
"Life may be lengthened, disease cured, suffering relieved, and the good results be untainted with evil, if for the old brutal elimination of the unfit be substituted a rational and scientific process of selection. In devising and applying measures to this end doubtless great practical difficulties will be encountered. Nevertheless, we may confidently predict that the more intel-

lignant sympathy of the future will demand that misery be not merely alleviated, but that it be no longer transmitted as a curse to posterity. Not till then can we reasonably hope that the general average of health, mental vigor, and happiness, will be lifted higher with each succeeding generation."—Prof. FRANK A. FETTER, in "Social Progress and Race Degeneration;" *The Forum*.

"The United States, supported by England, Germany and possibly by Japan, should stand for the absolute integrity of the present Chinese empire as known and understood in the treaties; second, for the unrestricted privileges of trade and commerce guaranteed by these same treaties."—HON. JOHN BARRETT, in "America, England and Germany as Allies for the Open Door;" *Engineering Magazine*.

"The great danger of indiscriminating advocacy of arbitration . . . is that it may lead men to tamper with equity, to compromise with unrighteousness. . . . Witness Armenia and witness Crete. War has been avoided; but what of the national consciences that beheld such iniquity, and withheld the hand?"—CAPTAIN A. T. MAHAN, in "The Peace Conference and the Moral Aspect of War;" *North American Review*.

"It is this antagonism to a new thing which makes London in some respects twenty-five years behind New York or Chicago. No American would tolerate the heat and abomination of the underground railway; or the inadequate street-car system, or the still more inadequate telephone service, or the scarcity of electric lights; or the regularly recurring water famines, or the almost complete cessation of telegraph service at night; or the inconvenience every traveler suffers in taking his luggage to and from a station."—A. MAURICE LOW, in "The Decline of British Commerce;" *North American Review*.





WILLIAM C. CORNWELL

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

A Sign
of Progress

It is a curious situation, this spectacle of the two leading nations of the Anglo-Saxon race (and most powerful among all the nations) each at war with a small group of people professing to stand for the right of independent self-government. Stranger yet is the fact that both of these great nations are also resting their case on the cause of human liberty and the interests of civilization. This in itself is a sign of progress. Formerly, a nation bent on conquest did not regard it as important to justify itself to civilization on any particular moral grounds, but acted on the principle that the mere existence of an opportunity to seize territory or trade was sufficient explanation to the world for sending an army to take possession of it.

Boer
versus
Briton

The war in South Africa, brought on by President Kruger's ultimatum, really opened on October 20th, when the Boer attack on the British position at Glencoe was repulsed after severe fighting and considerable loss on both sides. Glencoe is in the northern part of Natal, not far south of Laing's Nek and Majuba Hill, where the British met their sore defeats in 1881. This time no attempt was made to hold those points, but the first stand was made at Glencoe. Notwithstanding the success of the British, commanded here by General William Penn Symons, it was decided to abandon this exposed point and retire to Ladysmith, farther south.

There a larger force could be concentrated and the Boers held in check until fresh troops should come from England. Before this movement could be carried out, however, on the very next day another severe battle took place at Elandslaagte, about fifteen miles north of Ladysmith. Here the Boers had strongly entrenched themselves, having a force of about 2,000 men, but here as at Glencoe the superior artillery practice of the English gunners told the story, and the Boers were dislodged. About 800 Boers, it is estimated, were killed or wounded at Glencoe, and something over 200 British, including an extraordinarily large proportion of officers. Sharpshooting, in fact, is the strongest feature of Boer field practice. In the Glencoe fight General Symons himself was mortally wounded. He was an exceptionally able officer who, indeed, might have superseded Gen. Sir George Stewart White in command of the army in Natal had he lived.

**The First
British
Disaster**

Of course, General White never had any intention of fortifying a camp at Elands-laagte, and within two or three days the situation had taken the shape in which it has remained substantially to the present,—the several British divisions in northern Natal concentrated in Ladysmith, with the Boer army encamped on the surrounding hills, engaged in intermittent bombardment of the town. For the first few days a number of engagements took place, and on the night of October 29th General White sent up into the hills a column including the Tenth Mountain Artillery, four half companies of the Gloucesters and six companies of the Royal Irish Fusiliers, to seize Nicholson's Nek, a point near the enemy's right flank. Then came the first real British disaster of the campaign. The Boers created a stampede among the mules of the British artillery train in this division by rolling

rocks from the surrounding hills, then surrounded the expedition with an overwhelmingly superior force, and after a long continued and severe struggle captured the entire body, including more than 1,200 officers and men. General White in his official report of this disaster frankly took all the responsibility to himself, and from that time since has acted strictly on the defensive, attempting no important sorties.

Surrounded in Ladysmith The fortunate arrival, on the day after this disaster, of six naval quick-firing guns has enabled the garrison to reply effectively to the Boer bombardment, even though the investment of the town has been practically complete and communication cut off except by pigeon-post. Colenso, a town a short distance below Ladysmith, was abandoned about November 3d, and the British garrison retired to the south. This completed General White's isolation, and the problem now is simply one of his capacity to hold out until relieved either by reinforcements from Durban, the seaport of Natal, or by General Sir Redvers Buller whose plan of campaign, so far as made public, is to lead a strong force directly from Cape Colony up through the Orange Free State. Thus far the Boers have made little progress toward forcing the surrender of Ladysmith. As we go to press they are making a new move to the south with the object of capturing Estcourt. At the very beginning of this move they succeeded in trapping a British armored train together with about 100 men. If Estcourt is captured the difficulty of relieving General White by way of Durban will be greatly increased.

On the Western Border

On the opposite side of the Transvaal, the two British posts of Mafeking and Kimberley, the former defended by Colonel Baden-Powell, were surrounded at the very beginning

of the campaign and have been besieged, without important results on either side, ever since. Both places seem able to hold out indefinitely, so far as capacity for military defence is concerned, and are in danger only of exhaustion of supplies. It will require a large force to relieve these two widely separated points, and it will be surprising if General Buller does not require a good many more men than have yet been despatched before the natural strength of the Boers' position, near home and supplies, can be overcome.

**How the Other
Nations View it**

As surely as the sudden introduction of the disturbing influence of a magnet draws all kindred metal to it, this outbreak of war has drawn the line of international sympathies clear and sharp. French criticism of England's position is acrimonious in the extreme, and the hostility of Russia, while not expressed, is so unmistakably felt that it has even been reported several times that the czar was preparing to take advantage of the situation by attacking England's northernmost outpost in Asia, Herat, and forcing a way to the Indian Ocean. On the other hand, Germany, whatever the frictions with England during times of peace, seems fairly to be taking pains now to exhibit its friendship. The kaiser is about to pay a visit to England, where he will be accorded enthusiastic receptions whose effect will be practically to announce to the world the good terms upon which the two nations stand.

**The Samoan
Agreement**

Along with this comes the sudden announcement of a diplomatic agreement concluded between England and Germany, whereby the long-standing Samoan difficulty is closed up. Great Britain retires absolutely from the group, leaving the territory to be divided between the United States and Germany. In exchange for this

Germany grants to England certain other Pacific islands, besides territorial exchanges and concessions in South Africa. Our share in this Samoan agreement, if we decide to approve it, is to receive the Island of Tutuila, which includes the important harbor of Pago Pago. This would be a welcome simplification of the problem of government in Samoa, ending the old vexatious tripartite agreement. And then, the time is pretty certain to come when Tutuila with the harbor of Pago Pago will be an important link in future commercial routes between the United States and New Zealand and Australian ports.

Two Alaskan Settlements In still another quarter, looking to the westward, some of our less important but for a long time annoying problems are approaching settlement. On October 20th a temporary agreement for an Alaskan boundary was arranged between our state department and the British diplomatic representatives; which ought to put an end to bad feeling and recrimination over disputes in the gold fields until the whole matter can be properly settled by a court of arbitration.

Almost simultaneously with this, an agreement was entered into with Russia providing for arbitration of long-standing sealing disputes. These grew out of the seizure by Russia of certain American vessels in the Behring sea, eight or ten years ago. The amount involved in this controversy is not large, but the agreement to arbitrate is important as confirming our fortunate position of friendly relations with both the great powers standing foremost in the struggle for supremacy in the East. This fact may even make us the instrument of preventing a war between England and Russia over the question of predominating influence in China.

**The
Open Door
in China**

The reason for this is that the United States, by standing unreservedly for an open-door policy in China and against dismemberment of the Chinese Empire, can be counted upon both by England and Russia as an element standing in the way of undue aggression on the part of either party against the other. It would be as much to our interest to oppose a British as a Russian policy of conquest and exclusion in China, if there were any danger of such. It is quite possible that even Russia would prefer an arrangement which gave equality of industrial opportunity and freedom in that quarter if it could be certain that surreptitious advantage would not be taken by anybody else to gain exclusive foothold. Count Cassini, the Russian ambassador to the United States, took pains in a recent interview given in Washington to deny for Russia any "exclusive control" program, and emphasized the fact that Russia's great Chinese port—Talien-Wan—is kept free to the commerce of the world. Whether such a declaration is entirely sincere or not, at least it shows the Russian desire to recognize our stand for the open door and the weight of our influence in the situation. It is understood that our state department is carrying on negotiations with the view of obtaining a definite disavowal from the great powers of any intention to appropriate the Chinese Empire and adopt an exclusive trade policy.

**The
Luzon
Campaign**

Since the reopening of active operations in Luzon, our forces appear to have made more real progress than during any previous campaign there. Generals MacArthur and Lawton have resumed their march to the north, proceeding along different routes, while, on November 7th, the navy landed two battalions under General Wheaton at San Fabian, on the Lingayen Gulf, a point

considerably farther north than any that has been reached by land marches. These battalions met strong resistance from the outset, but fought their way in-shore towards Dagupan, from which point the plan is to join MacArthur and intercept Aguinaldo's retreat. On the 12th of November a detachment of General MacArthur's army under Colonel Bell captured the rebel capital Tarlac. The insurgents had abandoned the place only a few hours before, and the present whereabouts of Aguinaldo and his government is unknown. The only outlet for the insurgent army is to the mountain ridge separating the west coast of Luzon from the valleys of the north, and, if General Wheaton is reinforced in time, it is possible that this retreat will be intercepted.

Greatly to be regretted, however, is the disaster to the cruiser Charleston, which occurred on the morning of November 2nd, on an uncharted coral reef on the extreme north coast of Luzon. All on board were safely landed on Kamiguan Island, and found the natives friendly. The vessel is probably a complete loss, lying as it does directly in the path of the monsoons that prevail at this season. The gunboat Helena and battleship Oregon have been sent to remove the crew from Kamiguan, and see if anything can be done to save the Charleston.

**The
Philippine
Report**

The most important official statement that has been offered on the Philippine situation is the preliminary report of the Philippine Commission, submitted on November 2nd and signed by J. G. Schurman, George Dewey, Charles Denby and Dean C. Worcester. By friend or foe of our Philippine policy this report must be conceded a strong and, on certain points, convincing statement of the case. The portion dealing with the immediate

situation, the absolute necessity of prosecuting the war to a finish, and the futility of trying self-government without a considerable period of American supervision and control, must appeal to the ordinary common sense of all save the violently prejudiced. No patriotic American can take exception to it. It does not involve the question of the ultimate policy that we shall pursue, but it seems to us there can be no sensible ground for quibbling or dispute over the position of the commissioners when they say that: "Whatever the future of the Philippines may be, there is no course open to us now except the prosecution of the war until the insurgents are reduced to submission."

The report traces the history of former rebellions in the Philippines, and the course of events from the time Admiral Dewey started from Hong Kong down to the departure of the commission from Manila a few months ago. It states that the half dozen or more attempts so far made to establish local self-government in towns captured by our forces have been successful, whereas an experiment with entire self-government on the island of Negros failed. In the commission's opinion the Filipinos, as a race, while possessing high intellectual capacities, are as yet lacking in education and experience sufficient to carry on independent government with safety, order and justice. "The most that can be expected of them," says the report, "is to cooperate with the Americans in the administration of general affairs, from Manila as a center, and to undertake, subject to American control and guidance (as may be found necessary), the administration of provincial and municipal affairs. . . . As education advances and experience ripens the natives may be entrusted with a larger and more independent share of government—self-government, as the American ideal, being constantly kept in view as the goal."

It is clear from this, that, whatever may be the obstacles to self government now, the commissioners believe it possible in the no very distant future. This certainly disposes of the idea that we are obliged to annex the islands as a part of United States territory, instead of heading them toward independence, as in the case of Cuba.

A Serious Criticism But however strongly we may commend these practical aspects of the commission's report, the portion dealing with our early conduct there and the causes of the present outbreak cannot escape serious criticism. It must be said that it shows altogether too pronounced a disposition to ignore such of the causes of irritation as were due to our own policy, and to charge everything to the headstrong and stubborn attitude of Aguinaldo. The testimony on this bit of history, from official sources, is quite as strong on one side as the other. It is a matter of record that until Admiral Dewey was superseded in command no important misunderstanding or friction with the native army or its leader arose. Various reports from United States officials, both at Manila and Hong Kong, as well as trustworthy correspondents of American journals, bear testimony to the signal services rendered by Aguinaldo in cooperating for the overthrow of Manila. It cannot be disputed that but for such cooperation Manila city could not have been captured before the signing of the peace protocol, while without such capture the strongest claim put forward by our peace commissioners for the cession to us of the Philippines would have been wholly lacking. There is another grave and inexcusable omission in the report; it wholly ignores the fact that our definite announcement of intention to hold the islands permanently was one of the chief causes of the insurrection. At first, the

whole presumption, even here in the United States, was that our occupation there would be only temporary. Unquestionably the natives so understood it. Had we adopted our Cuban policy, simply demanded that Spain surrender all sovereignty over the islands, and promised self-government to the people as fast as our authority could safely be lessened, and ultimate independence when we could safely withdraw, it is more than probable that hostilities could have been avoided altogether.

**Ignoring
Psychological
Influences**

The trouble with those who cannot seem to appreciate this point is their failure to recognize the immense importance of psychological considerations. It was not a mere matter of being forced to take up the Spanish authority and subjugate the islands, regardless of whether we planned to keep them or give them ultimately to the inhabitants. That claim is bosh. On the contrary, the psychological effect of our expressed intentions,—whether we meant simply to restore order and establish good government and finally concede independence, or meant to annex the islands at any cost and rule them as a colonial dependency of the United States, a distant foreign power,—had everything to do with the peacefulness or otherwise of our relations with the natives, and their disposition toward us. Is there anyone who will claim that if we had announced to the people of Cuba, after the war, our intention of annexing their country and never conceding independence we should not have had a first-class revolution on our hands there as well as in the Philippines? The honor and good faith of our promise to Cuba have constituted the one great guaranty of a peaceful consummation of our program there, and the friendly cooperation of the natives in it. If Admiral Dewey's judgment is sound, this plan might have succeeded even better in the Philippines than in

Cuba, for his testimony regarding the Filipinos is "that they are more fitted for it [self-government] than the Cubans, that they are a better people than the Cubans in every way."

**Progress
in Cuba** Our reconstruction policy in Cuba is eminently successful, so far; chiefly because the natives trust our promises and therefore are willing that we should remain long enough at least to give them a country worth governing. Not only are the cities being regenerated but the financial administration shows an actual surplus in the public treasury. During the first six months of this year the revenues were nearly seven million dollars and the expenses about five and one-half millions, nearly all of which was devoted to sanitation, public works, charities, improvement of military establishment, etc. Our military officials there are already advising the holding of elections and gradual establishment of independent government.

**Red Cross
Relief Work** Nevertheless in the rural districts of Cuba we are confronted by extreme destitution and an impoverished country. General Wilson reports that the Weyler reconcentration orders reduced the population of Santa Clara one-seventh and of Matanzas one-third. In the interior of the provinces the settlers' huts have disappeared, live stock has been killed off, and only a few of the very wealthy sugar planters' estates remain in operation. A severe drouth has aggravated matters. The Cuban Industrial Relief Association with its relief farms, and the Red Cross Society, are making heroic efforts to cope with the situation, but it is almost too vast for them. The Red Cross officers estimate that there are fifty thousand destitute orphan children scattered through the island. These the society is striving to care for by starting

temporary hospitals in vacant houses wherever they can be obtained. Their work deserves hearty support and cooperation.

**Near-by
Revolutions**

If it is a part of our national duty to annex countries that are in danger of internal strife and revolution, we ought to take in a considerable portion of South America without delay. A revolution in Venezuela, headed by General Castro, terminated successfully within the last month. On October 22nd the victorious insurgent leader entered the capital, Caracas, and since then has been practically dictating the reorganization of the government. President Andrade transferred his office to Vice-President Rodriguez and fled the country. This revolution arose from a dispute over Andrade's plan of dividing the old nine states of Venezuela into twenty new states. It is not unlikely that General Castro himself will succeed to the presidency. Just over the line in Colombia the hard times have brought about a rebellion against the government, and up to date the insurgents have made considerable progress, winning an important battle on October 30th. Meanwhile, the island of San Domingo has likewise taken on a new government. After the assassination of President Heureaux a revolutionary party headed by General Jiminez was formed and succeeded in appropriating the government with little trouble. He doubtless will become president.

**The Fall
Elections**

The elections throughout the country on November 7th were less conclusive than either party had hoped. They can hardly be said to indicate either any very general approval or disapproval of the administration's general policy. The result in Nebraska is an increased democratic majority amounting to about 14,000, largely due to Mr. Bryan's

personal efforts. In Iowa, however, Governor Shaw was re-elected by about 60,000 on a strong gold standard and expansionist platform. This about maintains the normal republican margin in that state. South Dakota returned to the republican column with a majority of about 5,000. In Kentucky the result is still in doubt, but if the vote is honestly recorded the republican candidate for governor, W. S. Taylor, will probably have a majority of about 1,000 over Goebel, whose defeat is due almost entirely to the split caused by his corrupt and tyrannical political methods, and not to any discussion of national issues. In Maryland the democratic candidate for governor, John Walter Smith, was elected by 12,000 majority over the republican governor, Lloyd Lowndes, this result being partly due to local republican dissensions and partly perhaps to the Philippine war issue. The republicans were successful in Pennsylvania by about 100,000 majority, in New Jersey by 15,000, in Massachusetts by 65,000, and in the local elections in New York state by perhaps 30,000; though losing the city by more than 50,000. Ohio was the principal battle ground of the campaign, and the result was a majority of over 50,000 for Judge Nash, the republican candidate for governor. Even there, however, the verdict is somewhat inconclusive, because the great unpopularity of John R. McLean with a large element of the democratic party, and the independent candidacy of Mayor Jones of Toledo, who polled over 100,000 votes, were causes affecting the result quite as much as the discussion of national issues. Judge Nash received a minority of the total vote.

**Business
Conditions**

Large crops, increased railroad earnings, and a steadily declining proportion of failures are still the notable features of the situation, and show that our present business prosperity is not a mere boom but a well-founded, perma-

nent growth. The decline in the number of failures and amount of liabilities is truly remarkable. During the third quarter of 1899 there were 2,001 business failures, which is less than the number for the same period in many years, being indeed nearly 1,800 less than in the third quarter of 1896; while the liabilities for these three months in 1899 were only \$17,640,972, as compared with about \$25,000,000 in the same period of 1898 and 1897, and more than \$73,000,000 in 1896. The corn crop this year is estimated at 2,207,473,000 bushels, which is nearly 400,000,000 bushels more than last year, while in the South the cotton crop, though smaller in quantity, will bring larger returns to the farmers than last year because of the higher prices. Extraordinary activity continues in the iron industry, and so great is the demand in this line that prices show no sign of returning as yet to a normal level. In spite of this, however, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company has contracted for 100,000 tons of steel rails, which means an expense of more than \$3,000,000. A more fortunate road,—the New York, Ontario and Western,—is re-laying its system with rails contracted for in 1898 at \$18.00 a ton, and selling the old rails which it is taking up at more than \$30.00 a ton; so that, when it is through it will have equipped its road with new steel rails and made a good many thousand dollars on the exchange, into the bargain. The financial stringency consequent upon this enormous business activity continues, and Secretary Gage has taken a second step toward relieving the situation. His first offer was to prepay interest on government bonds. On November 16th he offered to buy outright \$25,000,000 worth of bonds at current market rates. This will not involve loss to the treasury, since it will save future interest payments to an even greater amount than the premium now given.

CONGRESS AND MONETARY RELIEF

WILLIAM C. CORNWELL

Wall Street has been under a great strain for two months. At the time of writing (November 4th) the bank reserve has just popped down below the legal, and during the ten minutes left of stock exchange daylight (the publication of the bank statement was delayed and only appeared at ten minutes of noon) the steam has been escaping on the old street in great gusts. This would be a very pretty spectacle for the man who had a ticket to the show if it were not that this strain pulls on something besides the nerves of brokers and speculative operators who are conducting the circus.

The horses in this circus belong to the farmers outside and ought to be doing the fall plowing instead of being dragged into the tent and having the life pounded out of them to help along the bareback riding in the ring. In plain words the strain pulls on the whole business of the country, which is at his highest point for years, and is liable to cause costly friction and wearing discomfort throughout the entire equipment of American commercial machinery.

A leading Wall Street house sends out the following from its news bureau at the close of the day: "A very abnormal situation in financial affairs now prevails in this country and one that calls for prompt remedial

action on the part of the coming congress. It is this: While general business throughout the country is on a plane never before known and in need of available funds, the treasury has locked up in its vaults 15 per cent. of the entire circulation, without any legal way of relieving the business world."

But this is only one of the reasons for trouble. What are the causes leading up to this condition? It is due to three things: first, the sub-treasury system; second, the greenbacks; and third, the lack of an elastic bank-note currency.

The workings of the sub-treasury system have been often commented upon. The cash receipts of all important business and other concerns find their way eventually to banks, where they are deposited and go into public use. There is one great exception. The net receipts of the treasury of the United States are locked up in the government's own vaults and are as completely hoarded as if buried in a miser's cellar. The receipts come from internal revenue, customs, sale of bonds, etc. Internal revenue receipts alone amount to one million dollars per day, which is being hauled out every twenty-four hours from a market snapping with stringency. It is like bleeding a patient who is already suffering from loss of blood. The total holdings of the treasury are over two hundred and eighty millions. This vast amount is absolutely idle and useless, when the business of the country is throbbing with life and needing to be well fed with currency.

It is a fool situation.

Its origin was the cracking of the United States Bank by Jackson, out of political spite, and the fact that sixty years ago there remained no strong banks where government funds could be safe over night. Besides, at that time the yearly revenues of the govern-

ment were insignificant and smaller than in some instances now accumulate in a single month.

The conditions, in other words, that involved the adoption of the system have long since gone by, and yet our entire business world and the sensitive structure which modern commerce has developed into is harassed and strained by the use of a clumsy and worn-out machine. And this is the fact with relation to all our important present financial arrangements. The emergency which originated the expedient has long since passed out of existence but the clumsy machinery is still in use, and not one single important part of our system is the result of trade development or scientific adjustment.

The conditions in Wall street this year are an illuminating illustration of all this. While the street has been panting under three times the legal rate for money, and bank reserves have steadily sunken, the sub-treasury system has been hauling out at the rate of a million dollars a day the money that should be in circulation to help expanding business, and has been plunging it into the treasury cellars to mold.

But even with the sub-treasury system out of the way evils would still exist.

Our paper currency, both greenbacks and national bank-notes, are at the root of the evil, the first on account of positive qualities and the others because of their negative character; that is, the greenbacks by reason of what they do, and the national bank-notes by what they do not do.

The operation of the greenbacks has been so graphically described by the secretary of the treasury in his last year's report that I quote from it here:

"It is a familiar fact that, in the period of harvesting and crop moving, the currency is strongly drawn from the centers to the country districts. When this movement is over, the currency again tends toward

the centers. The currency flows to the center to pay loans occasioned by its use and other general indebtedness, and also to secure the benefit of interest to the country banker for a portion of his funds which in a dull period would otherwise lie unemployed in his hands.

" It is in the condition above described, with varying degrees of regularity and intensity, that the financial status is found when the crops in the West and South approach harvest—that is to say, a maximum of loans and deposits; a minimum in cash reserves. During the season until then, the country banker has found that his drafts and checks on his eastern correspondents, distributed to his customers, supplied their needs for instruments of exchange and payment; but he finds that for the payment of farm wages, the purchase and transfer of farm products, such instruments are not adequate; cash is required for these purposes, either in metallic money or paper currency. This forces him to make requisition in the form of money by express on his eastern balances. Nay, more; if crops be large and prices good, he is forced to supplement his own resources by borrowing for a period at the centers. His correspondent at the center, in meeting his requisitions for the money due his country customer, is obliged to take it from what had before constituted his legal reserve. This disturbs the equilibrium of relationships. To recover his position, he turns upon the street and calls in a portion of his loans. If the interior banker, after thus calling for the balances due him, asks in addition for a loan, the city banker is often obliged to inform him that 'money is very close and he cannot accommodate him.' It must be noted also that the effort of the city banker to restore his impaired reserve by calling money from the street does not accomplish that direct result. There is no money 'in the street'; it is all in bank vaults, and the total stock cannot be augmented except by inducing it to come in from without. What does result is a forced liquidation, a fall in prices of securities, a rise in interest sufficient to induce outside money to come in. In this process the merchant and the manufacturer find it difficult to negotiate their credits. They also are told 'money is tight,' and that they must withhold applications for discount favors.

" Whoever has followed this delineation of our financial movement, and those who are familiar with the facts which are thus portrayed, ought not to have trouble in perceiving that the bottom cause of the irregular and deranging effects described is to be found in a fixed volume of paper money clothed with full powers of a legal tender. Upon this money—itself a credit obligation—other credit obligations, in the form of bank deposits through bank loans, may be built up in the proportion of four to one. With the volume of paper money thus fixed—with no natural movement toward its retirement when not needed in legitimate trade—the tendency to build the four-story structure upon it as a permanent base is irresistible. The withdrawal of the base by those who really own it causes the structure to vibrate and threatens it with a fall."

This is exactly what has been going on this summer and fall. The surplus reserves were used as the basis of loans to all classes of industrial underwritings. These loans were credited in account, increasing deposits, for which the greenbacks furnished the 25 per cent. reserve. Then came on the fall trade, enormous in volume, the actual money (not bank credits) was needed to pay for farm products where real dollars must pass from pocket to pocket, and the greenbacks began to be shipped out of Wall Street. There was nothing to take their place as reserve, and the only way to get them was for bankers to pull them out from under the pile four high and every dollar that went out meant four dollars of deposits pulled out with it and a corresponding calling in of loans, and with this heroic process in operation from week to week loans, deposits and reserves have been steadily sinking and the Street has been wincing under the scalding and relentless lash.

In any other country similarly situated as to periodical needs for money, but under a scientific system of currency, the bank-notes would come to the rescue, but our own national bank-notes are of about as much use in the emergency as an old woman would be where a wet nurse is imperatively needed. They stand around utterly unable to relieve the situation.

And yet, these are our much-boasted bond-secured national bank-notes, which are sometimes spoken of as the best currency the world has ever known, but are in fact quite the opposite.

About their only merit is their safety. It is not too much to say that we would be much better off without them.

The banks will, of course, only issue these notes (beyond what is mandatory under the national bank act) when it is profitable to do so. It is only profitable to issue when the premium on bonds (which have to be

purchased and deposited with the government to secure the notes) is low. This only happens when trade is not expanding. When trade is not expanding the notes are not needed, and that is just when they are issued and increased. When the premium on bonds is high, it becomes more profitable for the banks to withdraw their circulation, get back their bonds and sell them. The premium moreover is most apt to rise when business is active and increasing, and that, too, is the time when bank-notes are most needed by the business community. But it is the time also, as I have shown, when banks cancel their notes.

In other words *bond-secured currency contracts when needed in business and expands when not needed*. This inflation at the dull time, as with the greenbacks, is apt to induce speculation. The most recent proof of these facts lies in the present situation. The expanding business of the country since the first of the year has created an urgent need for more currency.

How do our bank-notes respond under these circumstances? In their usual contrary fashion; while all business has been expanding, their volume had actually decreased since January 1st of this year up to the middle of August.

Bond-secured currency is more profitable where interest rates are low than where high. Statistics show that the circulation of national bank-notes is much more largely availed of in the New England states where rates rule low than in the West and South, where rates are high. So that, just where they are needed to make rates lower and money easier, bank-notes are scarce, because it is not profitable to issue them there.

Another defect is in the clumsiness of the arrangement for getting currency out under the national bank system. During the currency famine of 1893, the banks that endeavored to increase their note circulation were

enabled to get only a small amount out before the famine was over, after which the notes began to increase in great volume, until, by November 1st of that year, they had expanded \$32,000,000, and were by that time positively useless.

And only recently, after weeks of doubt in Wall Street as to whether money was to be tight or not, a little new circulation has just begun to come out.

Credit currency issued by banks, if made absolutely safe, as it can be by a guaranty fund of all other banks, is entirely different in character. It can be manufactured at the moment when more money is needed, by reason of increase in the business of a special district, or of the whole country, and the very day that need begins to lessen the notes begin to disappear by natural law. That is, they begin to be deposited in banks instead of passing from hand to hand, and the banks send them home to get the cash for them just as if they were checks. Under a proper system they cannot live one minute longer than they are needed, any more than a check can.

Now, there is no doubt that this whole matter should be taken up by congress and the entire readjustment of our crazy currency system completed. This is what would be done in any country where the offices from the highest down were not at risk every four years. But in the United States nothing but political expediency prevails, except under great crises.

Fortunately there are two most important steps in currency reform which, even from a political standpoint, must be taken. These steps are rendered necessary by the verdict for sound money rendered at the polls in 1896.

The soundness of our money depends upon the gold standard being clearly established by law, and

upon the government currency being so hedged around that it cannot imperil the standard.

The republican party is distinctly pledged by the election of 1896 in favor of legislation which will place us on a sound financial basis. To carry out the pledge for sound money it must firmly establish the gold standard by law, and must rob the greenbacks of their dangerous power of depleting the treasury gold, or in other words of throwing us off the gold standard.

If these two things are done—no matter how clumsy or inadequate or illy-adapted or ridiculously antiquated and unscientific our currency and other financial arrangements may be—the pledge for sound money will have been kept by the president and the republican party, and the gold democrats, without whom the victory could not have been won, will have been justified in their action in voting for McKinley. Because, whatever may be said, no matter how strongly the president might have publicly urged it, *up to the present time no bill of the kind could have been passed.*

The new congress is the first one through which the passage of such a sound money law is possible. It is, for the first time since 1896, republican in both branches. The measures here advocated were advanced by the president in his first message, reiterated by him in public utterances, again and more forcibly recommended in his second message, and their enactment will be simply an act of good faith on the part of the party, which owes its election to the people who read its platform, believed in its honesty and voted it into power.

By the November elections all other issues have been swept aside. Sound money is at the front again, and as forcibly as votes will do it the people have asserted their faith in republican promises. The leaders cannot afford to undertake anything but the most

straightforward and prompt action. The people's faith in those elected to office can only be justified in this way, and the accomplishment of this result will add another to the signal benefactions bestowed upon America by the republican party.

Finally, let me rehearse succinctly in the order of their importance the essential requirements of financial readjustment which ought to be undertaken by congress this coming session:

First, to affirm the gold standard in law, taking from the president or the secretary of the treasury the power to interpret "coin" as silver in national obligations.

Second, to render the greenbacks harmless by paying them out only for gold when once redeemed.

Third, to replace the present bond-secured national bank-notes with national bank-notes against assets, made equally safe by a guaranty fund, and constituting an elastic and scientific currency.

Fourth, to abolish the sub-treasury system and deposit government funds *pro rata* with national banks in reserve cities, making these deposits a preferred lien.

The third provision it will probably be impossible to get action on this winter. The fourth, congress ought to authorize without delay. The first and second the republican party must carry through at the coming session.

FREE THOUGHT IN COLLEGE ECONOMICS

The growth of socialist sentiment, which during the last few years has so markedly affected public sentiment, has found considerable lodgment among clergymen and literary people, and in a few instances has taken definite hold of college professors. In two or three cases the professors have introduced these radical views into their class-room work, which has resulted in their resignations. Among the instances of this kind are Professors DeLeon, of Columbia University, Bemis of Chicago University and later of the Kansas State Agricultural College, Commons of Syracuse University, President E. Benjamin Andrews of Brown University, and now, quite recently, Dr. George D. Herron of Iowa College. Whatever the publicly assigned cause of these resignations, it is probably fair to admit frankly that the propagation of radical views was the real reason.

This is regarded with considerable alarm and is pointed to as a signal of danger to free and unbiased scientific investigation. If a college professor cannot be entirely unfettered in his thought and speech, it is said, progress in knowledge and honest research is at an end, and education, instead of being a source of knowledge and truth and the basis of sound information, will soon be rutted in a narrow groove, serving only the interests of a wealthy class. On the occasion of Dr. Andrews's resignation from the presidency of Brown University, the professors in several of the larger colleges and universities circulated petitions among professors, economists, publicists and educators, protesting against the action of the trustees as a menace to the freedom of economic investigation.

All this has a plausible seeming, but is it sound

doctrine? Of course it is true that correct ideas, wider and more scientific knowledge, come of investigation and experimentation, and of course it is also true that it is the function of those who make teaching in the different branches of knowledge a profession to investigate subjects and modify their opinions according to the latest evidence. But, on what theory of society or education or science should the teaching of the new views of a professor be put beyond the authority of the governing body? On what theory, in short, should the professor become a law unto himself regarding the doctrines he shall teach in public institutions?

Colleges and universities are supported by the public, by voluntary contributions made because the contributor believes in the social and moral usefulness of the work being done in the institution. These contributions are given in good faith to promote education on the lines established, which have already received the approval of the intellectual and moral consensus of the community. To use this institution and the funds so contributed for a purpose foreign and contrary to the ideas both of the contributors and of the whole community, and appropriate them to the propaganda of the exceptional ideas of a single individual, is a perversion of public trust. It is giving the influence of public institutions over to the service and control of un-representative, individual ideas, which is contrary to every element in representative government and civilized society. This does not mean that new views and opinions should not arise, but that institutions should not be made the vehicles of revolutionary opinions until such opinions shall come to represent a considerable consensus of the community.

Sound opinion, like everything else, is not a sudden invention, but a slow evolution. It is nearly always true that a new doctrine is but partially true in its in-

ception. It may contain the germs of great new truth, but it usually requires severe revision and development before in the interest of truth and sound opinion it can properly become a part of the teachings of authoritative educational institutions. The road for a new doctrine to travel to position and authority is through the crucible of criticism in the community. It should stand on its own merit, unbolstered by fashion or caste or institutional prestige.

If the doctrine of the single tax, of socialism, of free silver, or any other new or radical idea has a germ of some new truth in it, let it first be tested in the open forum. In proportion to the strength and clearness and importance of the truth it contains, it will gradually extend the area of its acceptance and establish its claim to be inaugurated as a part of the accepted theory of society, and propagated through established and accredited public institutions. Until it does this it should properly remain among the tentative and unaccepted theories.

Of course, nothing should be done to discourage the freedom of expression of new ideas and their propagation in society, but the responsibility for the propaganda of new and unaccepted theories should rest with the individual disciples of the new doctrines. If they cannot be made sufficiently popular to be generally accepted, then they may be made the nucleus of a new school. Those, if there are any, who accept them may found a new university to propagate the new gospel or theory, as has been the case with the numerous religions. But there is no intellectual, moral or political reason why a new idea should demand admission into an old institution without the approval of the administration and supporters of such institution. There is really no good ground for a professor who has become a socialist to feel himself a martyr because he is not

permitted to propagate his socialism in an individualist institution. As well might atheism be taught in a Catholic institution. He has no right to expect to do it, and if he seeks to do it surreptitiously he is departing from the line of strict honor and integrity in his relation to that institution. His idea may be altogether superior. He may have the truth, which may contain the makings of a new epoch in civilization. But that is no reason why he should demand the right to use institutions whose history and management is adverse to it as a means of his propaganda.

It has been contended, and Professor Bemis appears to hold this view, that, while colleges and universities may properly refuse to have radical and immature doctrines taught, state universities should afford this opportunity. There seems to be no better justification for a state doing this than for private institutions. On the contrary, state universities are supported by involuntary contributions of the public, collected by taxes, and even less than privately endowed colleges is the state justified in teaching new and undigested revolutionary theories, looking perhaps to its own disruption. The state stands preeminently for the people and the existing society. It is the reflection of the largest body of existing opinion. From the common school up to the university, state institutions can properly furnish education only on established and accepted lines. It is the same in economic and religious thought as it is in industry. Experimentation is the function of the individual. New ideas grow as they establish the truth they represent. If they fail to do that, then it is well, from a rational and true sociological viewpoint, that they are not incorporated into the authoritative expression and teaching of the community.

Therefore, there is really no ground for raising a martyr cry because the professor of a new doctrine is

not permitted to keep an old chair in a traditional university. He must either convert the community which the university represents to his view or establish a new school which shall stand for his idea.

This view, perhaps partly by virtue of necessity, seems to be operating even in the cases of Professors Bemis and Commons. At the recent Buffalo social reform conference some twenty thousand dollars was raised to establish an institution of social investigation, and Professors Bemis and Commons were appointed to do the work. This was very proper action. They may be socialists, single-taxers, flying machine advocates—in fact, they may form any new views that their experience and investigation suggest, because they are appointed and supported for that purpose. They are in no danger of being removed because of the radical quality of their ideas. That is as it should be. But suppose this institution, of which Messrs. Bemis and Commons are the professors, should grow to great proportions and be based upon the theory of socialism, free silver and a multiple monetary standard, and some day a professor should be converted to the old conservative doctrines of private ownership, high protection and trusts. Would he not quickly be removed for teaching such heresy? Of course he would, and so he ought to be. He would not belong there. He would have to go to Harvard or Yale, and if they had disappeared he would have to make his converts in the open forum.

Dr. George D. Herron, of Iowa College, who is the latest of the series of professors who have severed their connection with institutions because of the newness of their views, takes an entirely philosophical and rational view of the situation. He recognizes the right of the institution to go along its traditional lines so long as they are the accepted lines of the community and its supporters. He recognizes that there is no ground for

martyrdom. The chair he occupied was established exclusively for him, endowed for him, and his removal would have been very difficult. But he recognized that the views he now entertains are not the views of the supporters and governors of the institution. He has become a single-tax socialist. He sees that as a conscientious convert to this new doctrine he cannot teach at all without propagating these ideas, which would be detrimental to the institution; because it would alienate both the supporters and students, as neither the friends of the institution nor of the students want these doctrines. He therefore resigned, on the very proper ground that he was out of joint—not with the truth, because he believes he has just found that, but out of joint with the institution,—and to occupy his proper place he must go into the community and make propaganda by the force and logic of his ideas. In other words, he has got a new gospel for the teaching of which there is no established institution. His function is to be a missionary. This is the true philosophical view of the subject. The function of the missionary and the traditional teacher are not the same. The institutions which have come up and been gradually established by the faith and experience and wealth of the past should properly be devoted to the objects for which they were established, so long, at least, as they represent the consensus of opinion of the community for which they stand and from which they draw their support and their students. New doctrines must first find lodgment in the community before they can properly claim the use of established public institutions.

WHAT ABOUT THE DANISH WEST INDIES?

JULIUS MORITZEN

When the telegraph on that memorable morning at Ponce told the world that the stars and stripes were floating over a new American possession; when the Porto Ricans treated expectant nations to the unique spectacle of an alien people receiving with open arms an army of invasion; when the United States, almost by accident, as it were, entered the field of colonial expansion, across the Atlantic the members of the Danish cabinet drew a sigh of relief, because, apparently, the thrice attempted negotiations anent the disposal of the Danish West Indies would not again be renewed. At Copenhagen, it is true, diplomatic memories recalled circumstances which had left Denmark blameless when affairs turned out differently than had been anticipated. But it is equally certain that as next-door neighbors to the power of the western hemisphere the Danes now find the companionship of Uncle Sam more congenial than had been that of Spain. The glamor of officialdom, as it pertained to the reign of the Dons in the Antilles, had previously experienced but slight difficulty in crossing the thirty odd miles intervening between Porto Rico and the island of St. Thomas. And, while the representatives of Denmark in the West Indies may be accustomed from home to the usages of a royal court, the inhabitants of St. Thomas, St. John and St. Croix have too much in common with the West to permit old-world institutions to take the place of liberal tendencies and aspirations. Hence it is scarcely to be wondered at that, when put to the vote in January, 1868, the question of the islands passing to the United States met with hardly a dissenting voice. The inhabitants were willing to link their fate with that of

this country. The home government had reason to believe that diplomatic efforts had at last met with success. And Mr. Seward was equally justified in thinking that his labors for the possession of the Danish islands had borne fruit.

Then, as always, the unexpected happened. President Johnson and congress were in the midst of that unpleasant contention which made the session one not easily to be forgotten. The Danish rigsdag had ratified the treaty, and on January 31st, 1868, the king signed the document. The time limit named in the treaty for ratification was February 24th, 1868, but, congress failing to act, the time was extended to October 14th of the same year. All proved futile, however. The treaty fell a victim to the political hatred then raging in this country, and after an adverse report the United States senate dropped it. While the turmoil was on Denmark repeatedly endeavored, through the medium of the powers, even, to bring the negotiations to an end. She contended that the whole affair originally was not of her making. Nothing, however, availed and the Danish nation felt the situation keenly.

So much for the present about the negotiations which came to naught in 1868. But the entire series of transactions between Denmark and the United States, touching the Danish West Indies, from the time when Secretary Seward first broached the matter of their purchase in 1865, to the most recent rumor which had it that St. Thomas was to be bought, shortly before the war with Spain, form such interesting chapters in the history of American diplomacy that with the acquisition of the Spanish possessions in the Antilles it becomes quite pertinent to the issues of the day to guess what would have been the result of the war in behalf of Cuba had this country at the time of conflict possessed the unsurpassed harbor of St. Thomas as part of

its naval equipment. Quick and decisive as was the war with Spain, it could have been no less so if during that period the Atlantic squadron had been in possession of the Danish West Indies as a base of operation. The proximity of an American naval stronghold to the Spanish isles might of itself have acted a deterrent to the martial spirit of the Cuban Dons. Perhaps it could not have prevented the war, but St. Thomas as the naval station of this country in the Antilles certainly would not have prolonged it.

The importance of St. Thomas as a coaling station will be remembered through the cable message of July 12th of last year, when the Danish authorities informed United States Consul Van Horne that coal, of which this country had 8,000 tons in the harbor, was contraband of war; and that its removal would not be permitted as long as this country was at war with Spain. While the matter was arranged satisfactorily enough at the time, the menacing attitude of the German, French and Italian warships then in the harbor gave Governor Ledermann a chance to back up his remonstrance with something more substantial than words. And, while the combined fleets of the three nations in question would have been no deterrent had the American admiral in command decided to act, the incident goes to prove that the sagacity of Secretary Seward was a telling one when in 1865 he advocated the purchase of the islands from Denmark.

While Germany is likely to improve the opportunity of possessing herself of some of the islands in the Antilles, whether Denmark would be willing to sell out to her antagonist of old is another question. In direct contradiction to the Monroe doctrine though it be, it is not at all visionary to say that such an attempt might in the near-by future be made by the country which has so assiduously carried forward its foreign

policy in the East. The attitude of the United States, if such should prove the case, is one which needs no guessing. This country would at once object to the company of another monarchical power in the group of islands where so recently a monarchy had to bid a reluctant good-bye. But supposing Denmark averred that the several unsuccessful negotiations with the United States had bred discontent among her subjects in the West Indies; taking for granted that such was actually the case, there exist extenuating circumstances why the little nation might want to rid itself of an encumbrance, if such the Danes decided to term their colonial possessions. Taking in connection that rumor has it that Germany would be likely to do the right thing in Schlewig-Holstein, perhaps go as far as relinquishing her dominion over the most northerly province in return for the Danish West Indies, the situation may well have caused gossip in circles not too well acquainted with the Monroe doctrine and the intrepid nation ready at a moment's notice to enforce the western code.

From well informed sources in Copenhagen comes the report that Germany actually did approach the Danish government for the purpose of striking up some sort of deal. Diplomacy, however, kept its counsel well, if such approaches were made. This, nevertheless, should cause no surprise. The earlier negotiations between this country and Denmark were kept equally under cover and the public was scarcely aware that such negotiations were under way.

With Porto Rico as American territory the Danes feel that the possibility is slight for the subject once more to intrude itself. Even though the harbor of St. Thomas offers advantages superior to those obtainable anywhere else in the Antilles, the people of the United States would unquestionably object to further expendi-

tures in the direction of colonial expansion. The unsettled Cuban situation, the protracted crisis in the Philippines, the heavy drain on the treasury made necessary by the war, these phases would bar the way to the purchase of territory no longer considered as essential as before the conflict with Spain.

That Denmark, however, is not quite satisfied with the way things turned out is apparent. The final correspondence between the American minister to Denmark, John E. Risley, and Secretary of State Olney, in 1896, relative to the subject, leaves the impression that fresh negotiations were then under way. The Danish minister at Washington, Mr. Constantin Brun, on January 18th sent two cablegrams bearing on the subject to the Danish foreign office, and Baron Zytphen-Adler so informed Mr. Risley when at the former's request the American representative called at the Danish ministry. Mr. Brun had cabled to the effect that a resolution touching the Danish West Indies had been offered in the Senate, but there was no explanation as to the exact character of the resolution, nor was there mention of the senator who had offered it.

The interview between the American minister and Baron Zytphen-Adler grew out of some telegraphic correspondence which passed between the two countries four days previously. On January 14th Mr. Risley cabled Secretary of State Olney that several New York newspapers on their arrival at Copenhagen had created considerable comment because of certain articles which bore directly on the Danish West Indies situation. The papers stated that Mr. Henrik Cavling, of Copenhagen, associate editor of *Politiken*, who was then in Washington, had offered the United States the three islands, St. Thomas, St. Croix and St. John. The papers had it further that Mr. Cavling was acting for the Danish government and there was intimation that, if the United

States did not avail itself of the opportunity to buy, Germany was likely to do so.

To the representatives of the Danish press who called on Mr. Risley for an explanation the American minister declined to say anything at all on the subject. But, during a conversation with Mr. Vedel, the director-general of the ministry of foreign affairs, Mr. Risley was told that, while Mr. Vedel had refused to discuss the matter with the press representatives, he would inform the American minister in all confidence that, if Mr. Cavling had acted as the papers credited him with having done, he had done so as a self-appointed agent and without authority from the foreign office. Mr. Vedel added that there were no negotiations pending between Denmark and Germany for the sale or transfer of the islands. The Danish official was apparently anxious that no word of his should carry intimation that Denmark would like to dispose of the islands by being first to advance fresh negotiations. And he succeeded so well that it was left for the American minister to speak the first word. In fact, Mr. Risley cabled Secretary Olney that, during the above conversation with the director-general, he (Mr. Risley) had said that while he had no instructions whatever from his own government he would for personal reasons like to be informed whether Denmark was inclined to re-open negotiations.

The astute director-general replied that Denmark had certainly met with a disastrous failure in the effort of 1868. His country, therefore, could not be expected to make the proposal. But, while personally Mr. Vedel was opposed to the sale of the West Indies, he had no doubt that should the United States once more give the cue to its desire the Danish government might be induced to part with its colonies in the Atlantic ocean.

Like his predecessors in office Mr. Risley then said

in his communication that he considered it wholly unnecessary to discuss the value of these islands to the United States. He added that in certain contingencies they might prove very useful to this country and believed, if the United States wished to take up the matter, that it could be brought to a more speedy conclusion and with more secrecy by carrying on the negotiations at Copenhagen rather than at Washington.

Then followed the cable message of January 18th; the call of Mr. Risley at the Danish foreign office, and Baron Zytphen-Adler's emphatic statement that he wished it understood that no one had been authorized to offer the islands for sale. But should the United States see fit to make an offer, he added, he could assure Mr. Risley that it would be fairly considered. The great publicity given the subject would no doubt increase the difficulty of carrying the matter through to success, the baron added. And there might be an objection from France touching St. Croix, for it was from France that this island had been acquired some two hundred years before.

But, even less conclusively than before, the immature negotiations came to naught. The pet hobby of every American minister to Denmark since Lincoln's time was shorn of its glory, and Denmark did not sell its possessions, on account of a hesitancy in certain quarters this side the Atlantic. The farsightedness of Lincoln's secretary of state did not fail of encouragement during the thirty-four years that have passed since Mr. Seward first advanced the theory that the Danish West Indies should become American territory. But the governmental bodies did not always grasp this necessity as did the several secretaries of state.

That students of history derive supreme enjoyment from the scrutiny of diplomatic correspondence is an established fact. Even to those who do not concern

themselves with the intricacies of politics the perusal of documents such as tell the story of a Talleyrand, a Disraeli or a Bismarck, are an intellectual pleasure to be found in writings of no other kind. When great world transactions are under way, when history is as yet in the making, the public does not share the confidence of the diplomats assigned by their respective governments to carry negotiations to a desired end. Frequently legislators even have to demand from the negotiators a full and unbiased presentation of such correspondence as may have passed between the nations concerned.

The correspondence which followed as a result of the desire of the United States to become possessed of the Danish West Indies may not contain such startling episodes as might be expected in cases where the question of war or peace is at stake. Yet those who care will find in this very correspondence enough to show how great was the thought which had fathered the wish. It has been claimed in certain quarters that Denmark held its price too high when aware that a purchaser was near. As for this, the reader will acquaint himself of own accord.

At a dinner party at the French embassy in Washington, in January, 1865, Secretary Seward first expressed to General Raaslof, the Danish chargé d'affairs, the desire of the United States to purchase the three islands of St. Thomas, St. John and St. Croix. Several conferences of an unofficial character followed, but the urgencies of Mr. Seward were each time met with the reply from the Danish minister that Denmark had no wish to sell. Great secrecy was maintained during these proceedings. General Raaslof himself was very much opposed to the sale, but he dutifully enough reported the interviews to his government, which told him to drop the matter. The carriage accident to Mr.

Seward, which temporarily removed him from the arena of public affairs, confirmed Denmark's attitude, for no more came from her touching the subject.

No sooner, however, had Mr. Seward recovered from his wounds, consequent to the assassination of President Lincoln, than on the eve of his departure for the South the secretary of state once more approached General Raaslof. It was now President Johnson in the chair. At Copenhagen, likewise, a new ministry had come into power, and this cabinet was less opposed to the sale than had been the one before. Mr. Seward, therefore, received a note which had for its contents that, while the Danish government had no desire to sell, it was not unwilling to entertain the secretary's proposition. The United States was asked what it was willing to pay for the islands.

Mr. Seward in the meantime departed for his southern trip, and his visit to St. Thomas established more firmly than ever in his mind the conviction that the island would have to pass under the stars and stripes. When he returned, therefore, the secretary asked General Raaslof to name a price. The Danish minister, however, had not bargained that way. He replied that inasmuch as the United States wished to buy, and Denmark was not anxious to sell, the offer should come from the United States. A little later, then, as General Raaslof was leaving for Copenhagen, Mr. Seward on behalf of his country offered \$5,000,000 for the three islands. The American minister at Copenhagen, Mr. Seward added, would for a time have charge of affairs.

Count Frijs, the Danish minister for foreign affairs, was quite in favor of the sale, but another six months were allowed to pass without anything being accomplished. On January 19th, 1867, Mr. Yeaman, United States minister at Copenhagen, received the following cablegram from Mr. Seward: "Tell Raaslof haste impor-

tant." Again nothing was done for two months. Owing to the uncertainty of the treaty being ratified by the senate Denmark felt a good deal of hesitation. But the absence of opposition to the purchase scheme among the people of this country, and the speedy ratification of the Alaska purchase treaty, partly reassured the Danes. Once more Mr. Seward telegraphed Mr. Yeaman: "Want yea or nay now."

The United States minister at once put himself in touch with General Raaslof. Then came the counter proposition from Denmark. The offer of \$5,000,000 was rejected, and in its place Denmark offered the three islands for \$15,000,000, with the clause that St. Thomas and St. John might be had for \$10,000,000. Count Frijs also added that the ratification of the treaty by the rigsdag would be necessary and that his government would require that the consent of the people of the islands should be freely given. Mr. Seward's answer was that the United States would pay \$7,500,000 in gold, but he objected to the stipulation that the consent of the people of the islands was necessary. He considered it sufficient that they should have the free choice of leaving within two years, or remain and become American citizens.

These terms were rejected by the Danish government, but a new offer was made to cede the islands for \$11,250,000 or St. Thomas and St. John for \$7,500,000. Count Frijs further insisted that a vote of the people before cession was absolutely indispensable.

Mr. Yeaman now informed Count Frijs that Mr. Seward's second offer having been rejected his instructions obliged him to announce that the offer of the United States was withdrawn.

Then follows an interesting bit of history. Notwithstanding that this country had announced that the negotiations were off, Mr. Seward, on July 6th, 1867,

telegraphed to Mr. Adams in London: "Tell Yeaman to close with Denmark's offer. St. John, St. Thomas, seven and one-half millions. Report brief by cable. Send treaty ratified immediately."

The Danish government, however, held resolutely to the vote question and Mr. Seward finally gave in and cabled: "Concede question of vote." On the 24th of October, 1867, the treaty was signed by the Danish minister and Mr. Yeaman. As for the vote of the islanders, the sentiment was almost unanimous for the cession. Still, Denmark felt a certain hesitancy for fear that the legislative bodies in this country would fail to ratify the treaty. The assurance of Mr. Seward went far toward calming public opinion in Denmark, and the rigsdag and the king sanctioned the deal by signatures. Unfortunately for all concerned, congress and President Johnson, as has been already told, were involved in a fierce political struggle which convulsed the entire country. The limit of time named in the treaty for its ratification was February 24th, 1868. Congress, however, took no action, and the time was extended to the following October. It was in the session of that year that the senate dropped the matter.

Wherever the fault, from a purely business point of view Denmark could hardly be blamed for considering the affair anything but satisfactory. Charles Sumner was then chairman of the committee on foreign relations of the senate, and being at the time engaged in a personal quarrel with the administration he simply refused to report back the treaty to the senate.

Twenty-four years passed before fresh negotiations were entered into. It was in 1892, while Hon. John W. Foster was secretary of state, that this took place. Clark E. Carr was then minister to Denmark. In a confidential correspondence to Secretary Foster Mr. Carr said that he was authorized to say that a proposal

from the United States to revive the convention of 1867 would now receive favorable consideration. But a change of administration was about to take place in Washington, and this once more hindered action. The United States minister informed the Danish prime minister, Mr. Estrup, of the impending change.

The motive which inspired Mr. Estrup and Baron Reedtz-Thott, the minister of foreign affairs, to dispose of the islands was, curiously and paradoxically enough, a patriotic one. When the great fire at Copenhagen destroyed the palace of Christiansborg in 1884, no provisions were at hand for rebuilding what had been one of the most exquisite architectural structures in Europe. The Danes thought that the money obtained for the islands could be employed to better advantage at home. But Mr. Foster, after due deliberation with the administration, cabled Mr. Carr that the chief executive considered it inadvisable to express any views or indicate any policy the consummation of which he could not effect. And the Danish West Indies did not change owners.

The pending negotiations at the time regarding the Hawaiian islands suggested to the Danes the possibility that this may have acted as a hindrance to the negotiations with them. However this may have been, with Porto Rico now American territory Denmark no longer looks to the United States as a purchaser. But will the United States, in order to uphold the Monroe doctrine, perhaps be forced to buy, almost against its will? More and more a part of the western hemisphere, it is not thought likely that the residents of the islands would welcome the suzerainty of another European monarchical government when more than thirty years ago they were on the eve of joining a full-fledged republic. The United States, however, will always find a ready welcome.

SHALL THE BALLOT BE GIVEN TO WOMEN?

ALDEN BELL

The conditions upon which, or some of which, the right to vote has depended, generally, at all times, and in all countries are these:

- (1) Ownership of real estate within the country;
- (2) contribution to the cost of the government;
- (3) sufficient education;
- (4) capacity to judge the character of candidates;
- (5) capacity to judge the public interests;
- (6) capacity to serve in public office;
- (7) capacity to bear arms in national defense;
- (8) attachment to the country.

In the United States there are several disfranchised classes. Foreigners are disfranchised for a long enough time to enable men of average ability to learn the interests and institutions of the government under which they propose to live, and also, in many of our American states, to own real estate. Criminals are not allowed to vote because, as foes to society and to the government, they have forfeited this claim as well as their claim to either personal or political liberty. Insane persons and idiots are debarred, not being able to understand; Chinamen, because forbidden naturalization; Indians, on account of tribal claims to independent sovereignty, and other causes; young men under twenty-one years of age, because it is assumed that the average male has not the knowledge or stability of character wisely to exercise this right until he has reached that age.

Women are not denied the right of suffrage on any of these grounds. Whether the right shall ever be conferred upon any class of men or women cannot be decided exclusively upon any question of natural or inherent rights. These require and must receive their proper protection, but at the same time must be exer-

cised in a manner agreeable to and compatible with the rights of others. The custom of our government is that a majority of the votes shall rule; but what fundamental principle would give to two millions the absolute right to rule a like number less one? Take, for instance, the proposition that at seventeen years of age many men are better qualified for the suffrage than many at forty-five; what absolute natural right decrees that none shall exercise the franchise until he reaches twenty-one years? Yet, this is simply akin to many other compromises to which the people submit for the sake of the general results to the community or nation at large. If a citizen changes his residence from one state to another, he must remain there a specified time before he can vote; nor could he then return to the place where he had lived all of his life and cast a ballot without staying there the required time. Take the presidency of this republic. If born in a foreign country no man can ever be president, although he may have been brought over to this country when a mere infant. There are certain times and places and conditions to which the citizen must subscribe as a condition precedent to voting. Then, no one losing his right to vote can demand a second one.

A number of the advocates of woman suffrage say that it ought to rest with its opponents to show that it is incompatible with the best interests of the state, or with the best interests of womanhood. While in reality the burden of proof rests naturally upon those who thus propose to change the universal practice, let us consider some of the positive reasons why to impose this responsibility upon women is not compatible with the best interests of womanhood or the state.

The author, Frederic Harrison, in contrasting men and women, truly says: "Few men can compare with the average woman in point of tact, in refinement of

mental habit, in sympathetic touch, in passive endurance, in dealing with comfort, grace and convenience." Then, of men as distinguished from women: "They have a greater capacity for prolonged attention, wide range, general complications, immense endurance, intensity and variety of will." Modified by different degrees of physical strength, the same differences arise in the virtues and vices of the two sexes, respectively. If this feminine nature was not distinguished from the masculine, and if the replacing of the mental and spiritual elements peculiar to women by those characteristics of man would make no radical and harmful difference in the constitution of society, there would be no reason for exempting women from the responsibilities of government in general.

The individuals who form the state are constantly changing, finally disappearing, but for all that the state endures, as there are fresh arrivals through the family. The state at first takes no cognizance of these immature beings, such notice and maintenance of them depending on their parents, and only in the event of the parents being incapable or unwilling to discharge their responsibilities toward them does the state stand to them *in loco parentis*. The family is in effect a state within a state, and as long as it is maintained in its entirety and in its integrity the nation is strong, prosperous and happy. It is the source of private and public morality. The family is the union of common human natures, diffusing through society the blended influences of mother, daughter, sister, father, son and brother.

The suffrage would tend to unfit woman for her natural position in the family. It is a sophism to say that the simple dropping of a piece of paper into a ballot-box could not produce such a result. In that act is involved the whole mode of thinking, feeling and acting, of which a vote is the concentrated expression. "The

vote is the expression of government, voting is governing." To vote at all intelligently is to think and act in the imperative mood, and to be qualified as voters girls must be necessarily trained to think, feel and act in the spirit of boys. John Stuart Mill says that it will produce this effect, and asserts that women are held in "subjection" in the family. Wendell Phillips said: "No one can foresee the result, therefore the only way is to plunge in." But to plunge in without evidence that it will be good is never wise. It is untrue that men and women will remain unchanged in their moral, intellectual and emotional natures, whatever the situation. This would be contrary to the facts of evolution, environment and culture.

It was a most serious consideration of these things that led some of the most distinguished men both in England and America, after they had espoused the cause of woman suffrage, to reverse their former opinion and right-about-face on the question. Notable among these is Horace Bushnell, who declares: "It would be a reform against nature, and do women no good in the end, and still do the state countless harm." John Bright, the one particular bright star, once in the lead, of woman suffrage, on May 7th, 1867, voted in the English parliament for Mr. Mill's amendment to strike out of the reform bill the word "man" and insert the word "person." Nine years after he both spoke in parliament and wrote against the enfranchisement of women. In his letter on "The Woman Question in Europe" he wrote: "I act from the belief that to take women into the strife of political life would be a great evil to them and to our own sex no possible good could arise. Women are always safe under the care and charge of fathers, husbands, brothers and sons, or it is the fault of our non-civilization and not of our laws. As civilization, founded on Christian principles, advances,

women will gain all that is right for them to have though they are not seen contending in the strife of political parties." To this he adds personal testimony: "In my experience I have observed evil results to many women who have entered hotly into the political conflict and discussion. I would save them from it."

Goldwin Smith also voted with Mr. Mill, but he changed his opinion for reasons similar to those of Mr. Bright, and said: "That those women whom he had always regarded as the best of their sex among his acquaintances were by no means in favor of the change." Herbert Spencer, in *Justice*, renounces his former ideas on this subject and says: "I had formerly argued the matter from the standpoint of individual rights on general principles, but I find that this cannot be sustained, as I discover mental and emotional differences between the sexes which disqualify women for the burdens of government and the exercise of its functions." Mr. Gladstone, who had formerly held opinions not strongly adverse to women suffrage, was besought to say something in favor of it, by the women of England, who offered their support if he would avow himself in its favor. He maturely considered the question, and in the debate on the bill "Extending parliamentary suffrage to women" said:

"The changes proposed in this measure are fundamental, and I have to take into view not only what it enacts but what it involves. She is to vote, and hold office on the same footing as men and to be by this bill launched into the whirlpool of political life, which is so very often corrupt and misguiding, such as it is in the nineteenth century and such as it is to be in the twentieth century. A permanent and vast difference of type has been impressed upon woman and man respectively, by the Creator of both. These differences rest mainly upon causes not flexible in their nature,

like most mental causes, but physical and in their nature unchangeable. Beginning with the state thus, we will eventually intrude upon what is yet more fundamental and sacred, the precinct of the family, and will dislocate and injuriously modify the relations of domestic life. * * * As this is not a party question, so neither is it a sex question. The women will not encroach upon the power of the men, but in this bill we invite her to trespass upon the delicacy, the purity, the refinement, the elevation of her own nature, which are the present sources of its power."

Bishop John H. Vincent, the founder of Chautauqua, after having been a strong advocate of woman suffrage, says: "When about thirty years of age I accepted for a time the doctrine of female suffrage, and publicly defended it. Years of careful observation since then have convinced me that the demand for this change in the organic law of America is without foundation in equity, and, if successful, which we have now no reason to fear, would speedily prove destructive to American society, that society which at present upholds woman in all of her high aspirations, ends, aims and desires. I find some worthy women defending it, but the majority of our best women, especially our most intelligent, domestic and godly mothers, neither ask nor desire it. The instinct of motherhood is against it. The basal principle of our best manhood is against it. This theory and policy, tending to the subversion of the natural and divine order, must make man less a man and woman less a woman. The curse of America to-day is the corrupt partisan, the vote of ignorance and superstition. Now shall we make matters doubly worse by doubling the dangerous mass of illiterate voters? Force women down into the same bad atmosphere with men, and both men and women must suffer incalculable loss. We know what woman can be and has been, in

the 'commune,' in 'riots,' and on the 'rostrum.' Women can have all the rights to which she is entitled. All she has man has given her gladly. It is his glory to represent her. To rob him of this right is to weaken both. Both he and she are just now in danger through his mistaken courtesy."

"No taxation without representation," taken as an abstract proposition, is just, but representation itself is not necessarily identical under all conditions. Taxation is not levied upon the property of men and women, upon different principles, but upon property as such, by whomsoever held. The property rights of women are better protected now than they could be if she was actively engaged in party politics. If it is claimed that woman suffrage has worked well where tried, consider the example set by New Jersey. On July 7th, 1776, the provincial assembly conferred the suffrage upon women, without distinction of race, and the several elections held under that law were so disgraceful, and the state became so disgusted, that an act was passed restricting the right of suffrage to white male citizens twenty-one years of age. The old custom has never been resurrected in New Jersey from that day to this. It was also tried in Utah, where the writer had some insight into its workings. Introduced by the Mormons, by whom it was passed for the purpose of maintaining their ascendancy over the gentiles, the women supported vigorously not only polygamy, whenever they had a chance, but anything and everything else suggested by the Mormon hierarchy. On March 22nd, 1882, the federal congress passed an act that no polygamist or any woman living with such could take part in any election. This left unmarried women and the wives of monogamists in possession of their vote, but then came the Edmunds law which withdrew the right of suffrage from all women in Utah. It has been tried in

the state of Wyoming, which, according to the last census, has a population of only 60,705, of which 39,343 are males and 21,362 are females, the women being less than twenty per cent. of the entire population. The limited trial which Wyoming has thus given to this radical change has not resulted in any evidence of either its general or special utility. The population is too small and the general conditions too peculiar to make this nearly lone experiment of any value.

Again it is urged, and with truth, that more than two-thirds of those in the jails and penitentiaries of the country generally are men, and that more than two-thirds of the church communicants are women. But we respectfully submit that this, no matter how plausible it appears, does not indicate that women are naturally better than men. The truth is that the great majority of women are shielded, sheltered and protected, while on the other hand most men lead adventurous lives and are a great deal away from home, and when they commit crime are more liable to be convicted than women under the present régime. To attend a religious meeting is a pleasant variety to a great majority of women, but most men being away from home much of the week find but little relief in attending church, except when impelled by strong religious motives. Then, it is said, that women will vote against war and put an end to it. History does not bear out the truth of this assumption. On the contrary, to the student of history it sounds like and is hollow mockery, for whenever there has been a war the women have been as clamorous for it as the men. In our American civil war this was certainly the case, and in the late Spanish-American war the women on both sides aided and encouraged the men, and were if anything the more intense and irreconcilable.

Being called upon to state the most practical objec-

tions to woman suffrage we would name them in detail, as follows:

First; woman suffrage could not achieve what its advocates hope. Some imagine that it would improve morals, close evil resorts and the saloon, and that with this would come honesty, prudence and economy. Everyone who understands our government knows that no law that does not carry a majority of the votes of the men can ever be executed. There is a natural instinct in human nature which causes it to submit to persuasion and to rebel against force, and no refinement of religion or philosophy or morality does away with this.

Second; religious feuds would affect the country far more than now. To perpetuate this republic church and state must be kept eternally separate and distinct. With woman suffrage there are grounds for believing that the franchise would be exercised under strong religious prejudice, even passion, for it is conceded that the feelings of women are intense on all religious subjects. On this aspect of the subject John Bright stated in a great speech: "Of one thing there is no doubt, the undue influence of priest, parson and minister will be greatly increased if this measure is passed."

Third; with the exception of the classes already noted universal suffrage already exists in the United States. It is altogether unreasonable to expect that this policy of the government will be changed. The admission of women as voters would add three million five hundred thousand negro women, all naturalized women of foreign birth, all domestic servants; in fact, all women except the Chinese and Indians, regardless of character, intelligence or race. It might come very near doubling the present vote, and in some of the states be in excess of it. And, it must be remembered, similar conditions would apply to jury duty, and log-

ically ought to apply to the bearing of arms in the country's defense.

Fourth; there are pathological and physiological reasons for the abstention of women from the ballot and from political work. A large proportion of women would always be unable to respond to the demands of such public political work at set times, either in storm or calm.

Fifth; women as voters would increase the bitterness of political life. Politics always has and always will foment and create the most bitter feuds among its votaries, and when the mothers, daughters, wives and sisters of the combatants share in the struggle at the polls it will hardly serve to increase domestic and social harmony.

Sixth; it would deteriorate the moral tone of many of the women who became voters and political leaders, and introduce new and dangerous forms of political intrigue. It is not reasonable to suppose that women who became leaders in partisan politics would escape the influences of these demoralizing elements. The principal cause of political immorality is the inordinate desire for "spoils," in both money and offices. Money, in all ages, certainly has had as great charm for women as for men. Again, women would be compelled to associate familiarly with all classes of other women, merely for political purposes. It is undeniable that society is at present largely preserved by the fact that women of dubious character are not admitted to association with women of unspotted reputation.

Seventh; chivalry, with its refining influences over men, will speedily pass away when women become politicians. As society is at present constituted one of its chief refining elements is the respect felt and exhibited toward women. Their introduction into politics would certainly witness the passing or decline of this senti-

ment. When women appeared on the "hustings" in England in recent elections, especially when the contest was fierce, all respect for them, as such, disappeared. Notably has this been the case in Wales; and a strong illustration of it is the case of Mrs. Cornwallis West, who, vainly endeavoring to quell a disturbance at one of her meetings, said to the voters: "I am a woman, and am surprised and mortified that you will not hear a woman pleading a cause." She was soon silenced by both yells and hisses.

Finally, there is one serious truth that must be remembered in a discussion like this, and it is, that while experiments on economic questions need not be permanently harmful, and generally soon can be changed, yet if woman suffrage be once engrafted on our organic law it cannot be recalled. Dealing with the suffrage of a people is like dealing with moral questions, exceedingly dangerous. It must not slip our memory that voting itself is not a birthright; and woman suffrage would be a change of a relation that has existed since the beginning of government. We respectfully insist that the opponents of this change are not influenced by the tyrant's desire to keep the rule of the state to themselves. There may be some exceptions, but we think the attitude of opposition results generally from an honest desire for the good of the state, and equally from a wish for the best good of woman. We have to deal with it as such, and not in passion or prejudice. If the right thus to rule by voting is ever conferred upon women, all the constituent elements of society will suffer, but the greatest of all the sufferers will be women. Gone will be the "might of her gentleness," and man's reverence for woman's womanliness. Only the office-holding, lobbying, mannish woman will really welcome the day of this new-found "emancipation."

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

IT IS difficult to touch the governmental machinery in New York City without realizing in some form the depraving influence of Tammany. It has been shown over and over again that positions on the police force and other departments have to be paid for, and a right to violate the law has a market value. A very little experience with the law courts suffices to show that the same principle operates there also. In the city courts there seems to be a system by which officials sell exemptions from jury duty. Whether the judge shares in the bribery thus received is not entirely clear, but that the clerk and two attendants do was expressly stated, in one instance at least, which recently occurred in the city court. The working of the scheme seemed to have all the marks of complete cooperation.

IN ITS ISSUE of November 15th, with an air of inside information, the *Boston Herald* editorially announces that "The latest intelligence from ex-Speaker Reed is to the effect that he is leaning toward free trade." Where did the *Herald* get this piece of precious information? Certainly not from Mr. Reed. Can it be possible that the *Boston Herald* is trying to compete with the *New York Times* in the business of political mind-reading? The *Herald* knows that Mr. Reed is no flippant politician, his views on great public questions like the tariff are not turned topsy-turvy by every whiff of political wind. Protection is a part of his political philosophy, not a notion for party success or personal popularity. Mr. Reed is in no more danger of becoming a "free trader" than the *Herald* is of becoming rational on the tariff question.

THE BELL TELEPHONE "monopoly," which has so

generally been made a basis for public ownership talk, is now threatened with a fifty-million dollar competitor, "The Continental Telephone, Telegraph and Cable Company." This is what may be expected whenever a large concern keeps up prices to make abnormal profits. The outcome is pretty sure to be better and cheaper telephone service for the whole country. For a time, a dominant concern if in the hands of unwise men is apt to be oppressive and greedy, but the interest of the public is in keeping the door open for other equally big companies to come in, with brains and wealth enough to be real competitors. If the Bell Telephone had passed into public ownership this competition would not have occurred, and probably the progress toward lower rates and better service which is now assured would have been arrested.

IN A recent address to his friends in Nebraska Mr. Bryan said: "I promise to stay in politics until the lid closes on my coffin. . . . The reform forces will not halt until they have secured an income tax, election of senators by the people, the restoration of bimetallism; until they have driven the banks out of the business of governing and given to the government the sole right to issue money; until they have turned back the tide of militarism and driven trusts out of existence."

If Mr. Bryan can really get some guaranty that his coffin-lid shall not close until he has accomplished this, he may be assured of a longevity not granted to ordinary mortals. It is much more probable, however, that the unreasonable, retrogressive and disintegrating character of most of the measures he proposes will make the task so hard that he is in some danger of dying young in the struggle. It does really seem strange that a man with Mr. Bryan's seeming acuteness can so constantly see things inverted. He seems not to know that the

experience of history is directly against all of his monetary and economic propositions. If he cannot see that the idea of government money is both revolutionary and retrogressive, and that the abolition of corporations is facing toward barbarism, there is no hope for him. He can talk easily, but it does really seem difficult for him either to see or think. If he really insists on doing this until the coffin lid closes there would seem to be no means of preventing it, but it is to be regretted that he cannot spend the remainder of his days in doing something more useful.

GIVEN TIME enough the American people generally get around to a common-sense view of things. The recent election shows that the public mind is becoming less feverish and more rational on this vexed question of so-called "trusts." Ohio, perhaps more than any other state in the union, has been the field of anti-trust legislation and agitation. Trusts have been made illegal in that state and the courts have pursued them over the border into other states. In the recent campaign, in which that issue played a large part, Attorney-General Monnett, who was so conspicuous in the legal as well as political anti-trust crusade, failed of re-nomination, and the party which staked its cause largely upon the anti-trust issue was defeated by over 50,000 majority. This is encouraging, not in the sense of giving monopoly a free hand, but in giving hope that the subject may receive rational treatment tending to eliminate the detrimental features of large corporations without destroying the freedom of legitimate business.

PERIODICALLY there is an outbreak in New York and other large cities against the tipping habit. It certainly is one of the most unsatisfactory and in many

cases the most degrading habits ever imported to this country. Some who defend or excuse it think it the expression of a generous feeling in acknowledgement for extra service received. It is nothing of the kind. Tips are begrimed by nearly all who give them. It is a remnant of mediæval conditions, when the masses were mainly wards and the masters gave them occasional shillings. For a long time in this country it was practically limited to immigrants from Europe, such as waiters, hackmen, porters and the like. It has grown, however, partly by the habit our rich people have acquired in traveling in Europe and partly by a systematic fawning for it on the part of the recipients, and ultimately the likelihood of poor service if the tip is not given. It has now reached a point where one can hardly go to a barber, enter a carriage, have any dealings with a liveryman, ride on a train, get a meal, go to the theatre, in fact do anything but ride on a street car, without being expected to give a tip. It is an annoying and often repulsive custom, which is of no real benefit to anybody. Those who receive the tips gain nothing by it. Employers have reduced the thing to a science and grade the wages down according the probability of tip receipts,—in some instances pay no wages at all. Hence the public has the nuisance for nothing. It is a servile and degrading habit, without economic excuse or moral justification. It is of the same demoralizing character as begging on the streets, and should be discouraged.

THE NEW YORK *Times* seems to be taxing its resources to save the democratic party. It sees that Mr. Bryan and all that he stands for on silver, trusts and expansion can only make that party less popular with the people. It has finally hit upon a scheme by which the party can be reinstated and the country saved from

untold disaster, namely, by abandoning its position on silver, trusts and the Philippines, and standing for the simple issue of tariff destruction. Let the party declare for putting all trust products on the free list and make "a determined assault upon the 52% Dingley Tariff" and its popularity with the people is assured. It takes the recent remarks by President McKinley and Postmaster-General Charles Emory Smith, favoring foreign commerce, as certain evidence that the administration is rapidly getting in line for free trade, and warns the democratic party that if it does not hurry up and get upon this anti-tariff platform the republicans will be ahead of it, and then its chances of success will be gone for another generation. Mr. Bryan may lack political insight in adhering to the 16-to-1 proposition, but in his wildest moments he has never exhibited such mental chaos as is revealed in the notion that President McKinley and his Postmaster-General have turned their backs on protection, and that free trade would be a popular issue for 1900. Such a notion can only be entertained on the assumption that the American nation is composed of seventy-five millions of people "mostly fools." Beside this deliverance Mr. Bryan's talk really sounds like statesmanship.

THE NEW YORK *Evening Post* has announced the retirement of Mr. E. L. Godkin from its editorship. Most Americans with even a moderate amount of patriotism or ordinary regard for American methods, institutions and accomplishments, will regard this announcement with satisfaction if not delight. A more vindictive, cynical, and in many respects poisonous element never entered American journalism than the gall which flowed from Godkin's pen. He was not merely a sneerer at everything American, but he was essentially a polished defamer. He would apply vulgar terms and coarse

names to our public men, and, to evade the responsibility of the coarseness, put them in quotation marks, though they were as original with him as the very quality which invented them was natural. He has made the *Evening Post* the conspicuously hated journal of America. As the *Brooklyn Eagle* well says: "While much was attributed to him that he did not write, no injustice was done by the fact, for its resemblance to his known writing showed that he had inspired it, either directly or by the influence of the man on those who worked with him." His mark is so indelibly impressed upon the *Evening Post* that the paper may never recover.

One may be cynical, sarcastic, and even violent in the advocacy of a cause. But Godkin had no cause. He was indeed a man without a country, an editor without a party, a writer without a principle to uphold. Everything that had soul or flesh or blood in it or behind it met only with his sneers and ridicule. To be an American entitled one to scorn, misinterpretation and ridicule at his hands. To be identified with any cause of labor was to be rated and raked as a demagogue, a fraud and a sharper, practicing upon the impecuniosity of the workingmen. To be influential in public affairs was to be denounced as a "politician" hungering for fodder at the public crib. At times, to be sure, he would seem to be seriously opposed to Tammany, but when election time came around he would find a reason for objecting to the other side. It may truly be claimed that Godkin wielded a powerful pen, but he added neither dignity, integrity, breadth, warmth, patriotism nor popular confidence to journalism.

CHANGES IN THE COURSE OF STUDY

W. F. EDWARDS

In a recent paper I have suggested some desirable, so it seems to me, changes in the distribution of labor in the graded schools.* Closely connected with the distribution of labor among the teachers of the graded schools are two other problems which are not yet satisfactorily solved. They are: What work is to be distributed, and how is this work to be done? The first involves a discussion of the course of study, and the second has to do with the best method of using it.

The tendency in the course of study has been that of enlargement. Two elements seem to have been prominent in this tendency; the college requirement for admission, and highly differentiated specialization, looking toward a narrow idea of practicability.

The college requirement has given rise to much discussion concerning the high school considered as a "preparatory" school—that teaches such subjects as are required for admission to college courses; and the high school considered as a "finishing" school—as the highest school to which the boy or girl will go. As a matter of fact, I am not ready to grant that the best "finishing" school could not be the best "preparatory" school and vice versa.

The college in passing from the old to the new order of things has made the mistake of multiplying the number of baccalaureate degrees, and, then, of differentiating these degrees, in some cases at least, so that they may represent continuous study for a considerable period of time of some particular subject or for some more or less definite purpose. Along with this differ-

*GUNTON'S MAGAZINE for October, 1899.

entiation of degrees has come the plan of having corresponding groups of subjects in the high schools; each group when properly managed being supposed to prepare for some one of the courses of study leading to one of the numerous baccalaureate degrees.

In all of these preparatory groups mathematics, English, and foreign languages constitute an essential part. Mathematics, which includes arithmetic (in some schools "mental" and "written" are distinguished), algebra, geometry, and in some schools trigonometry; and English, which includes reading, writing, spelling, "language lessons," grammar, rhetoric and literature, begin at the very beginning of most schools. Foreign languages are usually taken up at the beginning of the ninth, tenth, or eleventh grades. Some work in the natural sciences is now required in each preparatory group for nearly all colleges, but it is of a varying amount and kind. Botany, physics and chemistry are most commonly represented in these groups, but astronomy, physiography, physiology, zoology, geology and meteorology may be offered as a part of the preparation for several colleges and universities. Some work in history is now usually required, but this is also of a varying amount and kind.

The desire of parents to have the child, as a pupil in school, prepare for some practical vocation in life has led to other enlargements. To this end the theory and art of teaching, physiology and hygiene, psychology, bookkeeping, commercial arithmetic, etc., have been introduced. The local support and management of schools has made this easy, as the managers usually wish to please the people by accommodating the schools to all of their varied desires.

Of late years a tendency to make the schools represent the whole of our social and industrial affairs has led to the introduction of domestic science, including

cooking, sewing, etc.; manual training, including carpentry, mechanical drawing, etc; political economy, civics, finance; agriculture, etc.

All of these tendencies have enlarged the course of study until it has become necessary to follow some group system in order to have all of these various subjects represented in the schools. So complicated has this group system become that we now have a growing tendency to divide the high school itself into manual training, commercial and other high schools.

It probably will be admitted by all competent judges that the course of study should look toward continuous study above the high school, whether the boy or girl goes to college or not; practicability (in a broad sense); and enlarged usefulness as a citizen. The continued study after the high school may be along a specific line, as Greek or mathematics, but should be preferably along broader lines and of such a nature that it will continually broaden the views of and intensify the desire to do one's duty as a citizen. As to practicability, it is not intended to convey the idea of preparation for immediate money getting, but rather that of enlarged ability to adapt oneself to changing conditions. Altogether, the training should be such as to enhance the power to form sound judgments concerning the affairs of every-day life in their various relations to the social conditions under which we must live.

The question then arises whether we cannot make a course, or courses, of study for the schools that shall be less complex than the present multi-group system and that shall be better adapted to producing the above mentioned results and at the same time be the best preparation for college. Possibly it would not be best to attempt to make one ironclad course of study for all pupils in the graded schools, but it seems to me that we may well look toward fewer groups in these schools,

and that we may at the same time so adjust them that the college and university will see in them a sufficient preparation for their various courses of study. The method of having fixed elements in all of the groups, and of alternatives and electives, that is coming to be indicated for the preparatory groups for admission to universities, is a good one to work with; the question at hand being, then, whether it is not possible to increase the fixed elements and decrease the elective to advantage both for the university and the graded school.

Leland Stanford University, with only one prescribed study for admission (English) and no defined groups of electives, represents the greatest freedom of choice of subjects and makes it possible for a student to be admitted with no preparation except in languages. Doubtless this university does not mean to invite this kind of preparation, and the principle involved, that of making the university a place for the special study of subjects, is a good one. So far as the influence on secondary schools is concerned the Harvard plan of having English and some mathematics definitely prescribed, and prescribed alternatives in ancient and modern languages, history and science, with some free electives in other subjects, is much to be preferred.

The Harvard preparatory groups all contain English, mathematics, foreign languages, history and science as essential elements of preparation. Choice is permitted between the foreign languages, science and history, which indicates that a certain minimum amount of time is to be devoted to each of these divisions rather than that a particular language, period of history, or science should be studied. The Leland Stanford plan practically admits that it is immaterial, with the exception of English, what subjects are used as a means of preparing for the work of the university; it being only

required that the training shall represent a certain number of points in time and, of course, that the student is prepared to take up work where it is begun in that university.

The University of Michigan follows a group plan somewhat like the Harvard plan but limits the choice of sciences to botany, physics and chemistry, requiring botany and physics in all groups,—this as an inducement for the high schools to have full year courses in these sciences instead of half year courses in five or six different sciences.

There are universities and colleges which continue to require languages and mathematics for admission in such quantity that little else can be done in a high school course of four years. Yale University is the best known of this type.

Leland Stanford University represents the extreme due to the modern tendency to free electives and intense early specialization; and Yale represents the extreme due to ultra-conservatism. The requirements for admission to other colleges and universities may be said to lie between these extremes, notwithstanding the great diversity of groups that may represent preparation for their various courses of study. One would be sorely puzzled if he attempted to obtain the general belief of educators concerning the best courses of study for the high schools and academies from a study of these requirements for admission to colleges and universities. They seem to agree, with a few exceptions, that languages and mathematics shall constitute the major part of each group.

It seems to me, however, that there has been too much time devoted to English, mathematics and foreign languages in the graded schools. I do not mean to imply that we do English well enough long before we have ceased to study it in these schools. On the con-

trary, I realize that it is seldom done well enough. Neither do I wish to imply that less ground should be covered in mathematics, but rather that it should be covered in another way. Also, I do not wish to convey the impression that I have no sympathy with the use of foreign languages, ancient or modern, as a means of training in the secondary schools, but rather that there are other subjects of more importance as a means of developing the power of forming sound judgments that are often neglected for these languages. I do not wish, moreover, to be understood as favoring the hotch-potch of half year studies that so often make up the so-called English courses of the high schools.

The pupil who passes his whole time in the high school studying languages and mathematics may learn a great deal about declining nouns and adjectives and about conjugations of verbs, and may be able to recite a Latin grammar from cover to cover and to scan the *Aeneid*, and yet know very little that is useful, either as giving mental power or as giving power to form sound judgments concerning things of every-day life. These "classical" students cannot usually, after six years of the study of Latin, translate intelligently a page of Newton's *Principia*. Indeed they cannot usually translate the *Aeneid*, after six years' study of Latin, without a lexicon and so much attention to the grammatical construction of the sentences that the meaning of the writer is somewhat befogged. All told, when something of the life of the Romans is to be learned books written in the English language are used.

There are those who maintain that Latin should be studied, if only for etymology; and there are others, a decreasing number I believe, who say that to learn English one must "bone" Latin. Assuming that the study of Latin does benefit us by our better acquaint-

ance with the etymology of the words used in the English language, may we not then ask of what use is it to know the etymology of words if our whole time is devoted to this so that we have none to devote to applying the words to things, *i. e.*, to give them real meanings.

Colleges and universities have for several years found that those desiring admission to the freshman classes were more deficient in their preparation in English than in any other subject. The faculties of these colleges and universities seem to believe that the remedy lies in more time devoted to the study of English. While it is not easy to point out the whole difficulty, I am convinced that it is not more time that is required, but rather a very different method of instruction for this subject. There has been much improvement in the manner of treating English in the schools, but there is still a chance for improvement before it can be said that the work put on English gives results comparable with those resulting from a like amount of work (time) spent on any other subject, excepting the ancient languages. We are beginning to let the A-B-C method take care of itself as an incidental part of a better method. We do not find children standing with their toes on a chalk mark or a crack in the floor, with their hands behind them, spelling a list of words that are entirely meaningless to them, as often as we used to see it. We do not read and read in the lower grades as much as we used to do. We do not parse and parse and diagram and diagram, and talk and talk about figures of speech, without doing very much to give the pupil a correct idea of the philosophy of language. To read much literature and refer to authorities seems to be considered helpful. Doubtless reading and studying the language used by the best authors is beneficial, but it is not especially adapted to giving the pupil a

clear idea of the fundamental simplicity of language. Beginning the study of grammar by using a text-book also usually does not tend to make the simplicity of language clear to the pupil. A text-book beginning with a definition of grammar, followed by a statement that grammar is divided into orthography, etymology, syntax and prosody, does not do much to enlighten the child even though each of these divisions is defined. To define that an elementary sound is the simplest sound of the language and that vocals consist of pure tone only while the aspirates consist of pure breath only does not usually enlighten the beginner.

If the pupil always hears correct English from his teachers and is always corrected when he uses incorrect English he will acquire a correct use of the language without spending several years studying books devoted to rules and their many exceptions, diagrams, parsing, spelling lists, etc. After the pupil has learned to use correct English, while learning something else which he writes and talks about, five hours a week for one school year is all that is necessary for the systematic teaching of English grammar.

In like manner, too much time is expended in learning how to apply the rules of arithmetic to the specific problems given under the rules. To learn the multiplication table as a pure task of the memory doubtless has its practical usefulness, but it is of very little value for developing mental power. All this is exercise for the memory and for mimicry.

Even a superficial observation of young children will teach one that it is not necessary to plan the course of study so that it may be used to develop the power of memory or that of mimicry. What is needed rather is a chance to develop the power of and a desire for closer observation; and to show that the ever-present "why?" may be answered very often satisfactorily, if

we search for the data upon which the solution depends. To develop this desire one must lead the child along step by step, by bringing before him data from which he can draw ever-broader conclusions. To do this well, I believe, depends on dispensing with textbooks in which the conclusions are usually already drawn, at least for the lower grades.

There seems to be a feeling abroad in the land that a person's education is to be measured by the number of books he has read, or by the number of subjects he has taken up in the course of study. One can read altogether too much even though the books read are chosen from the very best literature on subjects having to do with every-day life. Many boys and girls are mentally depressed by too much reading. Good books are all very well when properly used but they are very often improperly used in the schools. Text-book cramming is the bane of the schools and makes it possible for very slightly educated people to continue in the teaching profession. There are some subjects, like history for example, that must be studied to a considerable extent from books. The books, however, are of little educational value, except as records, to one who has not acquainted himself with the activities of mankind working together in nature. After making a study of these activities in their present relations to one another, one may be prepared to read the historical record and to interpret it in the light of the present.

There has been a time in the development of free schools when educators seemed to believe that learning the facts of nature was derogatory to mental discipline. That time is now passed and we are beginning to understand that we cannot transgress nature's laws and that we can greatly benefit ourselves by understanding them. I do not refer alone to what is ordinarily called practical benefits, but also to the fact that our whole

social life is founded on these laws, whether we recognize it or not. No man without some knowledge of nature and her inexorable laws can be said to have a close acquaintance with the civilization of the present time and to be capable of studying the history of civilization in its best perspective. Studying civilization is studying man in nature rather than studying man preparing for heaven. We need more contact study of nature. To study nature solely from books is not to study it at all.

The study of nature is begun naturally by the child before he goes to school at all. This natural observation and experience method of studying nature can be continued in the schools to good advantage through, say, the sixth grade. In this time much can be accomplished by simply studying nature. A great many facts of physics, chemistry, geology, physiography, physiology, botany, zoology, etc., can be learned without studying these subjects. Many boys and girls who would become interested in the study of nature by this contact method are hopelessly entangled in a labyrinth of subjects that are taken up in the schools as if each was entirely independent of the others.

In these six years the pupil could learn so much of botany, for example, that it would be unnecessary to give attention in the high school or academy to the cramming of a large list of new words applied to the shape of roots, stems and leaves, into the pupil within an altogether too short a period of time and without examples from nature. He would also acquire a sort of outline perspective that would be of service to him in the study of subjects in the high school and would at the same time be enabled to see their relations to one another, or rather to see that all sciences are a part of one great science.

I do not wish to be understood as advocating the

cramming the facts of nature into the child's mind as fast as it can possibly be done, and the ignoring of all else. I only mean to imply that at the least half of the facts of nature that are first observed by the pupil of high school age ought to have been observed before the pupil reached that age, and that it can be done without pushing the child along at such a rate that he can do nothing but attend to his school duties, as is altogether too much the case in the schools as now carried on. In the use of text-books, cramming of statements of facts, rules, or modes of action is the altogether too common process even below the high school. A fact that the pupil cannot state is to be preferred to a statement of a fact of which the pupil has no appreciation. A statement that the earth's satellite is about 240,000 miles from it is utterly useless as an educational factor and has no practical utility, and is useless lumber for the pupil's mind. However, to understand how we have arrived at this conclusion concerning this distance is of use, practically and educationally considered. Likewise, in the study of geography it is of little use to note that large cities are usually near large bodies of water unless an attempt is made to discover why this fact is as it is.

These studies can be made to serve the purpose of training in the construction of a vocabulary and in the correct use of spoken and written English. To learn to state fully and accurately what one sees in nature and society is the very best exercise in the constructive use of language. Writing essays on Washington and Lincoln, the Colossus of Rhodes or the Andes Mountains, is of very little value as an exercise in the constructive use of language.

The seventh grade is early enough to begin the formal study of subjects, and even here there should not be a sudden change from that of the six grades be-

fore it. The pupil could here do some formal work to advantage in arithmetic and grammar, and could increase the time devoted to history and geography, and should continue his music and drawing. From this time on through the high school, work in mathematics, science and history should be found in every grade and every group, and should be so done that the last year of the high school could be devoted to some formal study of political economy, physiology and psychology, and geology. All this could be done and leave time for sufficient language work, which it seems to me could well be a course made up of English and Latin taught by the same teacher, French being substituted in part for the English or Latin in the last two years, the object being to study language rather than to acquire ability to translate.

In making these changes in the course of study careful attention would have to be given to the selection of teachers for the work. Something more than knowledge of the subject to be taught must be required. An appreciation of the ideals and purposes of education is necessary. The teachers of the lower grades need to have as much knowledge of the subjects taught in the high school as the high school teachers have. Teachers may have special knowledge and fitness for special subjects but should not be trained for special grades. A teacher who is competent to teach in the lower grades should also be competent to teach in the high school and vice versa.

The question of teachers is an all-important one. To change at once from the text-book cramming method to the proposed method with no changes of teachers would prove disastrous. A great many of the so-called teachers still have an idea that they have done their full duty when they have conscientiously heard a pupil recite a previously assigned lesson and kept order n

the school. These same teachers would be hopelessly stranded on an unknown sea, if trying to do nature study without a text-book. It would doubtless take a teacher, who had been accustomed to the recitation habit for several years, more than one year to get over the feeling that a pupil who was not reciting a set lesson was not learning anything to speak of. The teacher should be alive to the importance of every step taken as a means of taking another step, not simply in advance in the particular subject but as a means of finally gaining a broad perspective of the relations of nature and society. A girl of sixteen or seventeen years of age cannot by the very nature of things be such a teacher.

This change would require that there be better facilities and more abundant material in the laboratories than is now usually found in the city schools. It would be necessary to produce the fundamental processes of nature in miniature in these laboratories much more commonly and fully than is now done. In doing this work as it ought to be done a teacher cannot care for more than twenty pupils at one time. The teacher also requires much time for the preparation of work for these pupils, and should have an assistant, a prospective teacher, to help prepare the work. Science teachers are too often required to carry as many classes as a teacher of mathematics, and without any assistance in preparing the specimens, etc., for the class.

If this change could be brought about in a thorough way I believe we would soon be enabled to show a large increase in the enrolment for pure science and history, from choice, in the secondary schools, and a better understanding of our relations to one another in society.

CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL NOTES

A Gracious Concession

In the fulness of time Tammany has discovered that New York actually wants rapid transit, and hastens to supply the need. The lid is promptly closed down on the debt-limit jumping-bogie until it may be needed to frighten off some project not in favor with the proprietors of the city government. Contracts for construction of the tunnel are to be let at once, with an eye single to the welfare of the dear taxpayer! But, let us not be too captious and critical. It is better to contribute 25 per cent. of the expense to the disinterested patriots of 14th Street than to wait another twenty-five years before getting any rapid transit at all. Let us be humbly thankful that "pull" is for once pulling our way.

Growth of the New York Public Library

The New York Public Library, housed in the Astor and Lenox Library buildings, has already marched up to third place among the great libraries of the country. It has considerably more than 600,000 volumes and pamphlets, which is only about 100,000 less than the Boston Public Library; though the Library of Congress, at Washington, has (including some 210,000 pieces of music) about 1,250,000 entries. The New York Public Library has been growing more rapidly than any of the others, and, when once in its new building, it is more than likely that it will outstrip them all. It is interesting to note, by the way, that the daily attendance at the New York Library is considerably larger than at the Boston Public Library, in spite of the superior facilities and larger stock of the latter. The work of re-cataloguing and indexing by the card system, which is now going on, is a monumental task, employing over fifty expert

cataloguers all the time. When completed, the simplicity and completeness of the system will make it easy to find any book or document in the library, under almost any head to which that volume or document may have any distinct relation.

**Reform in
Municipal
Charities**

A notable reform in the city's relation to private charities has been accomplished in New York. Hereafter, instead of appropriating lump sums annually for the support of a thousand and one charitable institutions, hospitals, homes, etc., these institutions are to be paid only for free work actually done. This will remedy many abuses in the disposition of city money by private charitable organizations, which are oftentimes quite as much interested in maintaining their own existence as in actually administering poor relief. Moreover, the new plan is a step in the right direction in another sense. It points to the final taking over by the cities of all organized charitable work, which is a reform which must eventually come. Regardless of all other advantages which this would entail, the great point in its favor is the effect it would have on the forces that make toward abolishing the need of charity.

Here is the point. Wealthy manufacturers and capitalists, under the present system, make contributions to the funds of private charitable institutions, often as a sort of commutation of or excuse for any further responsibility for the social conditions of the working people. These funds, however carefully expended, do practically nothing toward removing the general causes of poverty, but on the contrary help even to perpetuate a pauper class. If, on the other hand, the city had to bear the whole expense of poor relief of all sorts, the increased pressure on wealthy taxpayers would lead them to take an active personal

interest in virile public policies dealing directly with the economic and social conditions which are responsible for pauper and dependent classes. We might then expect to see more life put into the movements for restriction of immigration, abolition of sweatshops, reform of tenements, short-hour legislation, labor insurance and the like.

**Decrease of
Slum Population**

Last month we reviewed Dr. Carroll D. Wright's new book on "Practical Sociology," and referred to the fact that the latest data he presented showed a slight increase in the population of the slum districts of our large cities. Since then a census of tenement-house population in New York City has been made public by the Board of Health, and shows the very encouraging fact that the tenement population on Manhattan Island is nearly 11,000 less than one year ago. The lower east side, between Catherine Street and Fourteenth Street and east of the Bowery, has lost more than 33,000 inhabitants. The upper and western portions of the city show increases.

This change is unquestionably due to the extraordinary business prosperity, whose effect is permeating every class in the community and enabling residents of the poorer districts to move either into better sections of the city or out into the suburbs. If we could now have an effective immigration law it would do much toward making this improved condition permanently secure. Even if we should have a return of hard times, while some who have now gone into better quarters might be forced to return to the crowded districts the shutting out of immigration would make it certain that conditions in the slums could not again become as bad as they were, prior to the present era of prosperity.

**An Optimistic
Human
Document**

President Eliot of Harvard, in a late number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, relates a suggestive incident illustrating the all-powerful influence of practical experience in life as the real developer of mental and moral culture. "When the class of 1853 graduated at Harvard College," he says, "photographs of the whole class were taken and preserved in book form. Forty years after, the photographs of all the survivors were taken and placed in a similar book, each older photograph opposite the younger photograph of the same person. The resulting volume was lying on my table at home, when a French gentleman, who had been for some years the librarian of the Argentine Republic, called to see me on his way to Paris. As I was obliged to keep him waiting a few minutes he picked up from the table that book of photographs, and soon became absorbed in examining it. When I joined him he was full of eager inquiries about it, and concluded by saying that it was the most optimistic human document he had ever seen. A perfect stranger to all the men, and of a different race, he nevertheless appreciated in the older faces the immense improving effect of the experience of life. It is safe, then, to rely on the development of good mental and moral quality out in the world after leaving school, college, or professional school, provided that the preliminary training has been sound and well directed. Secondary schools need no longer feel that now or never is the time for their pupils to acquire useful information. It will be enough if they teach them how to get trustworthy information, and to desire it."

THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

A Progressive Southern College

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I send you herewith, as requested, catalogue of our college for the current year. Trinity College is one of the best equipped institutions in the South, maintains a high standard, and is leading the way in modern thought. It is the only place in the South where a boy can have the truth told him about money, tariff or trusts. We are also making a stand for what is modern and rational in theology.

JEROME DOWD,
Professor of Political Economy and Sociology, Trinity College, Durham, North Carolina.

Mr. Bryan and Trusts

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I have read with great interest much that Mr. Gunton has written about trusts, and agree with him as far as I know, entirely. I have been very much instructed by the BULLETIN on "The Chicago Trust Conference;" but, Mr. Bryan can be useful in advocating his very true principle of action, stated in his address at the conference, of unalterable opposition to monopoly in private hands.

Add his cure—a federal license,—to Mr. Cockran's proposition for requiring public reports from all such corporations, and open inspection of contracts with competing customers. The practice of a trust assailing town after town, one at a time, and ruining all competitors by excessively low prices, while in other towns fattening by charging profitable prices, could readily be controlled as Mr. Cockran suggests. Mr. Bryan is a true and sincere man; let us learn from him what he has to teach. Doubtless each of the orators who dealt in objections and denunciation can contribute some truth to the discussion.

Thanking you very much for the account of the Chicago meeting,—

J. F. SHEPPARD, Conshohocken, Pa.

A Plea for the Boers

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I have started to read your interesting and instructive magazine and am glad to notice that in your columns you give your readers an opportunity of discussing questions of public interest. Believing that there is no question before the public of more current interest than the controversy between Great Britain and the Transvaal, I beg to express my sympathy for the resolute Boers in their heroic stand for their rights as an independent people.

Our sympathies ought to stretch out across the sea to that small nation now valiantly fighting the same despotic power we fought over a century ago, and the people of this glorious republic, secure in their rights because of their might, ought feel for the small republic which has been forced into a war upon the outcome of which depends independence or vassalage. The Transvaal is a free and independent nation, and has been since the convention of 1884, when Great Britain

recognized it as such and relinquished all claims of suzerainty. Unfortunately for the Boers, however, gold was discovered in 1886, mines was developed, and adventurous Englishmen flocked there by the thousands; and now England, free from the restraining influence of her great Gladstone, urged on by her lust for gold and excited by her greed for land, forces upon the Boer nation a struggle for national existence.

In this so-called age of civilization a nation needs some reason for going to war, and Great Britain advances the pretext of fighting for the rights of her subjects to citizenship in the Transvaal. Even conceding that Great Britain had a right to demand concessions for her subjects, on what ground does she stand when, on August 21st last, the Boers offered to institute all the electoral reforms demanded if England would never again claim suzerainty or the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the government? England's reply was a flat refusal; it would have nothing but war! The Transvaal and the Orange Free State stand as barriers to England's advance in Africa, and they must be removed; they stand or fall together!

Let us pray that God, who watches over all nations, will forbid the triumph of might over right; let us hope that avarice, plunder and unscrupulousness will receive the setback it deserves, and that the heroic, steadfast Boers, fighting for themselves and their posterity, will triumphantly emerge from this conflict secure in their rights and unquestionably established as a free and independent people.

ISIDORE H. LEHMAN, New York City.

[Our position on British-Boer conflict is fully stated in the editor's lecture, "Our Duty to the Boers," published in the *Lecture Bulletin of the Institute of Social Economics* for October 21, 1899.]

QUESTION BOX

Educational Work of Labor Unions

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Can it be said that labor unions in this country have done anything toward educating their members or the public? I wish you would answer this question in your MAGAZINE, and also say if educational work is a really important feature of labor unions to-day. This question comes from one thoroughly interested in the movement for shorter hours and higher wages, and who wants some sound basis for defending labor unions, which seek to attain these ends.

STUDENT, —, Mass.

Yes, labor unions have done a good deal in the way of education. They have educated their own members by the discipline of organization, and discussion of industrial subjects. They have educated the public and employers considerably by their struggles. Twenty-five years ago the status of trade unions in this country was practically that of outlaws. They were not recognized by employers, by the public or the press. They were regarded as a foreign innovation in American industrial life. To-day public sentiment is definitely on the side of the right of laborers to organize. A large number, a rapidly increasing proportion, of employers have come to recognize that dealing with organized labor is the proper and withal the safest and most conservative method. I was talking with some employers in Fall River a short time ago and they told me that they preferred very much to deal with laborers through their unions, because then they could hold them all responsible to carry out an arrangement made by the leaders.

The general tendency of the labor unions is to or-

ganize the wage class and create a feeling among the great mass of workers of common brotherhood, and interest in their common welfare. Another tendency of the labor union is to furnish a better digested public opinion on labor questions. The labor union has the making, and has furnished the foundation, for the most efficient means of economic and quasi-political education among the masses. This is a feature, however, that has not been sufficiently emphasized and developed. The educational function of trade unions is one that should be greatly enlarged. They ought to be educational institutions, where public questions are thoroughly discussed and an intelligent public opinion among the masses cultivated. The more intelligent the members become the more important is this feature to public welfare and wholesome economic opinion. [ED.]

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In your recently published lecture on "Liberty and the Boycott," you presented a view of the subject which is rather new, and in some respects at least is novel to many people. But in the main it seems difficult to say that it is logically at fault. Nevertheless, while the idea of ostracism and exclusion may be all right and useful to get rid of certain strongly objectionable elements in the business and social world, is it not really a more dangerous and questionable thing where laboring men band together with the deliberate purpose of ruining the business of some particular concern with whom those men have had a quarrel, and in which the public have no necessary interest, not being affected in any way by it?

R. H., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Yes, it is very dangerous when laboring men or any other men band together with a deliberate purpose of ruining anybody, for pure malice, whether it be an

objectionable employer or a business competitor. The action of the men in the Cleveland strike was a case in point. They boycotted the road that they had failed to stop by their strike, and in endeavoring to carry out the boycott they used physical force, frequently threatening to maltreat people who did not obey the boycott. It must be remembered, however, that this is entirely transcending the function of social or business ostracism; it is assault, which is quite another thing and should be suppressed at all hazards. Boycott of a business can only succeed in proportion as the strikers convince the public of the moral right of their cause.

In discussing these questions we must not permit ourselves to deny a right or condemn a principle because somebody abuses it.

It occasionally happens, and used to quite frequently, that strikers maltreat any laborers who venture to take their places or who do not cooperate with them. This is another instance of brutality and assault, but we cannot conclude that the right to strike must be denied because strikers sometimes commit assault and battery. Politicians sometimes tamper with the ballots, forcefully preventing people from voting, and in not a few cases have committed murder at the polls, but these lawless and criminal acts are not to be charged to the principle of popular election. The remedy lies not in restricting the right to vote or the right to strike or the right to boycott, but in eliminating the lawless and criminal acts connected with it, which are in no sense a necessary part of it.

BOOK REVIEWS

MONOPOLIES AND THE PEOPLE. By Charles Whiting Baker, C. E., Editor *Engineering News*. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. 368 pp. \$1.50.

This book is intended as a discussion of the trust problem. In the preface, and largely in the first chapter, the author gives evidence of a strong intention of discussing the question fairly. He is evidently desirous of not being carried away by impulse and sentiment. He is even at some pains to explain that large corporations are beneficial. But before he gets through the second chapter the temptation to get in line with public sentiment is too strong for him. Within the first thirty pages he reaches the conclusion that what he calls trusts are monopolies and thus squarely lands himself on the Bryan platform. He makes the common mistake of confounding corners with trusts, and regards every large corporation as a monopoly, even though it may have a score or more of competitors. The author cites at great length the French copper syndicate, as if everybody at all informed did not know that that was one of the gigantic failures of the century, which ruined several of the leaders connected with it and came very near dragging the Bank of France down in its ruin. That was simply one of those gigantic and impossible efforts to corner a product. No rational investigator or student of the trust problem would fail to distinguish between a so-called trust and a combination merely to corner a product. They are as different as stealing is from production.

The one great defect in Mr. Baker's book is this mistake in sweepingly defining all large concerns as monopolies. It is neither good reasoning, good economics, nor good literature. Yet the book impresses one quite differently from such writing as Lloyd's "Wealth Against Commonwealth," which is surcharged with obvious un-

fairness. In Mr. Baker's book the spirit of intended fairness reveals itself in occasional half apologetic admissions that after all large corporations, trusts, or monopolies as he calls them, do a great deal of good. They economize the cost of production, save waste, and lower prices. Then, as if he had repented of this, he proceeds to show how they have forced up prices and robbed the public. As to railroads, he is not socialist enough to turn their ownership and control over to the government, but he would so restrict the conditions of railroading as to make sure that the capitalists should not make more than the ordinary rate of interest, though they might stand to lose any amount that bad investments involve. It does not take much discernment to see that a business so hemmed in with all the chances to lose and none to gain would not be overrun with investors. Such a scheme would make government ownership quite easy, for who would care for the responsibility with all the chances of loss and no opportunities for gain?

In answer to the question, "What Shall We Do with Trusts," he presents five propositions: (1) To compel all trusts (corporations) to reduce their capitalization to the equivalent of the market value of their real estate and the actual cost of reproducing the existing plant; (2) to compel absolute publicity of all their affairs; (3) impose a heavy tax on transfers of stock; (4) revoke all existing charters and in granting new ones compel the treatment of all customers alike; (5) have a certain portion of the board of directors appointed by the government.

The first is a scheme for direct confiscation. To compel a corporation to reduce its capital stock to the par value of its existing real estate and cost of reproducing its machinery, and then appropriate all the earnings above a fixed per cent., is practically to rob the

concern of all the earning capacity of trade reputation and good will. There are few large concerns, perhaps none, in which the real estate and machinery represent the total investment. Experimentation and losses, in a multitude of ways, are always necessary items in the cost of developing a large business. Take the Western Union Telegraph Company. If the par value of the stock of that company was to be reduced by law to the cost of reproducing the poles and wires and offices, it would probably wipe out twenty or thirty millions of honestly invested capital.

The second proposition, that every corporation should be compelled to make absolutely public all its affairs, proposes an economic absurdity. When every producer has a legal right to nose into the books of his competitor, the advantage of individual devices and improvements is practically destroyed, and the incentive for competitive business disappears,

Only one of the propositions Mr. Baker presents seems to rest on any sound economic idea, *viz.*, part of the fourth, which proposes that corporations should "be compelled to treat all customers alike." In this there is a sound economic idea, but how it can be applied is a problem not yet solved. Yet it is worth consideration. It must be admitted that if uniformity of prices by all corporations, and for that matter all business men, were enforced it would go far toward solving about all the real grievances connected with corporate enterprise. How to accomplish that, if it can be accomplished without violating all the principles of economic freedom, is worth the profound attention of the scientific students of the subject. Whoever, economist or statesman, will devise the method by which this can be accomplished, will make an important contribution to the equities of modern wealth distribution.

LETTERS FROM RALPH WALDO EMERSON TO A FRIEND, 1838-1853. Edited by Charles Eliot Norton. Cloth, 81 pp. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York.

How shall a collection of personal letters—haphazard and related to no general theme—be reviewed? Each one is a separate whole, and of the group of them it is not possible to say any one true and comprehensive word, unless it be that they are all unmistakably Emersonian. Where the subject-matter of the letter itself is not sufficiently above the commonplace to reveal the author, the style almost invariably does. In all Emerson's work, indeed, through one of these media or the other, his individuality proclaims itself so that the most casual reader can scarcely mistake it. In this respect he has few competitors in literature, and those only among the masters. Dean Stanley's testimony that, although he had listened to sermons in churches of all the great denominations in this country, nevertheless Emerson was the preacher in every pulpit, is typical of rather general experience.

The present volume is very small, and only a few of the letters here published have any particular interest except to special lovers of Emerson. One, written on shipboard on his return to this country in 1848, relates a rather interesting discussion he had with two Englishmen one Sunday in the country near Winchester. These men, he says:

"Asked me if there were any Americans, if there were any who had an American idea? or what is it that thoughtful and superior men with us would have? Certainly I did not retort, after our country fashion, by defying them to show me one mortal Englishman who did not live from hand to mouth, but who saw his way. No, I assured them there were such monsters hard by the setting sun, who believed in a future such as was never a past, but if I should show it to them, they would think French communism solid and practicable in the comparison. So I sketched the Boston fanaticism of right and might without bayonets or bishops, every man his own King, and all co-operation necessary and

extemporaneous. Of course my men went wild at the denying to society the beautiful right to kill and imprison. But we stood fast for milk and acorns, told them that musket-worship was perfectly well known to us, that it was an old bankrupt, but that we had never seen a man of sufficient valor and substance quite to carry out the other, which was nevertheless as sure as Copernican astronomy, and all heroism and invention must of course lie on this side. 'Tis wonderful how odiously thin and pale this republic dances before the blue bloodshot English eyes, but I had some anecdotes to bring some of its traits within their vision, and at last obtained a kind of allowance; but I doubt my tender converts are backsliding before this."

In another letter, written from Nantasket Beach in 1841, he makes a half-quizzical, despairing sort of protest against the deadening and paralyzing influence of the all-prevalent metaphysical thought of the times, which reduced everything to "equivalence and indifference" and made all progress and positive effort supremely irrational. Indeed, some of Emerson's own writing is not wholly innocent of this same intellectual-opiate effect, but he was himself too vigorous and active a thinker not to recover himself each time before quite succumbing to the tempting lotus plant of the metaphysician. In this letter he says:

"Is it the picture of the unbounded sea, or is it the lassitude of this Syrian summer, that more and more draws the cords of Will out of my thought and leaves me nothing but perpetual observation, perpetual acquiescence and perpetual thankfulness? Shall I not be Turk and fatalist before to-day's sun shall set? and in this thriving New England, too full of din and snappish activity and invention and wilfulness. Can you not save me, dip me into ice water, find me some girding belt, that I glide not away into a stream or a gas, and decease in infinite diffusion? Reinforce me, I entreat you, with showing me some man, work, aim or fact under the *angle of practice*, that I may see you as an elector and rejector, an agent, an antagonist and a commander. I have seen enough of the obedient sea wave forever lashing the obedient shore. I find no emblems here that speak any other language than the sleep and abandonment of my woods and blueberry pastures at home. If you know the ciphers of rudder and direction, communicate them to me without delay. Noah's flood and the striae which the good geologist finds on every mountain and rock seem to me the records of a calamity less universal than this metaphysical flux which threatens every enterprise, every thought and

every thinker. How high will this Nile, this Mississippi, this Ocean, rise, and will ever the waters be stayed?"

But this was only a passing mood. The philosopher who wrote "Self-Reliance" and "Power" had few occasions to confess lack of self-mastery; and never, in fact, needed to appeal to his friend or to anybody for "the ciphers of rudder and direction."

OOD PAUL'S PEOPLE. A Narrative of the British-Boer Troubles in South Africa, with a History of the Boers, the Country and its Institutions. By Howard C. Hillegas. Cloth, 308 pp. With 8 photographs and map. \$1.50. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

This book is exceedingly interesting and well written. The author's descriptions of the country of the Boers, particularly as affected by the extraordinary development of South Africa in the last decade, are graphic and readable. Mr. Hillegas is a young man, who has spent some time in both British and Dutch South Africa, with good opportunities for observation. There is evidence throughout his book, however, of a somewhat too easy impressionability, especially while he was sojourning among the astute and shrewd politicians of the Boer administration. The not unnatural tendency of a young and imaginative American to be impressed by the heroic side of the Transvaal situation, together with the extremely hospitable treatment accorded by the diplomatic burghers to all foreigners except Englishmen, led him to take for granted nearly the whole of the Boer statement of the controversy, without sufficient investigation of the other side. There is a sense in which it is not unfortunate that this book takes the Boer side, because, being free from all suspicion of British prejudice, it may be regarded as making out fully as good a case for the Transvaal as the facts will permit.

The author traces the history of the Transvaal from the time of the great "trek" in 1835, when the Dutch farmers left Cape Colony and pushed into the northern wilderness, because of resentment over the emancipation of their slaves and failure of the British authorities properly to compensate them for the loss. In relating the history of the annexation of the Transvaal as a part of the British Empire in 1877, however, he does not bring out, as he should have done in fairness, the utter bankruptcy of the country and inevitableness of some such step, in view of the impending dissolution of the Boer government. Neither does he relate the fact that immigrants were invited to the Transvaal, with the understanding that such immigrants were to enjoy the political and other privileges existing at the time of the treaty of 1884, when there was a two years' franchise; but that such franchise was raised within the next few years until finally a residence of fourteen years and permission of the volksraad were necessary before a foreigner could have the right to vote.

Mr. Hillegas quotes in full the proclamation issued by President Kruger to the residents of Johannesburg after the Jameson raid of 1896, including promises of reforms, and that all should be "forgotten and forgiven." But he does not note the subsequent fact that, so far from inaugurating these reforms, the volksraad proceeded to pass a number of measures of a more oppressive nature than ever, including the press laws, alien immigration and alien expulsion laws.

Furthermore, the tendency displayed throughout Mr. Hillegas' book to treat the protests, demands and reform movements of the Uitlanders in the Transvaal as mere "fake" agitations, engineered by cunning politicians for the purpose of getting up an excuse for England to seize the country, betrays a most serious sacrifice of historical accuracy to prejudice. The

grounds of the Uitlanders' complaints are too well known and too apparent to admit of any such flippant treatment. It may be true that many of the aliens intend only to remain a few years in the gold fields, but the English government does not demand and never has demanded the franchise for any except those who are willing to renounce their British allegiance and become citizens of the South African Republic. The number of foreigners who would do this is not great enough, and will not be great enough for some time to come, to outnumber the Boers, although the total foreign population already outnumbers them two to one. Nineteen-twentieths of the taxes are paid by the aliens, and in the last few years they have had to witness the major part of this devoted to storing up munitions of war and building forts around their own communities, with the guns turned in upon the towns; while education and sanitary conditions, particularly in the Uitlander metropolis, Johannesburg, have been almost entirely neglected. Such meager schooling as is furnished, the children are obliged to get from antiquated Dutch textbooks, while the English language, spoken in nine-tenths of all transactions, has no official recognition. The courts, moreover, cannot be relied upon since their decisions are subject at all times to reversal by a mere vote of the Boer volksraad.

While the British in South Africa are by no means guiltless of fault in many of their relations with the Transvaal republic, we repeat that it is a serious defect in a book professing seriously to discuss the South African situation that all this aspect of the controversy should be so thoroughly ignored. Evidently the glamour of Boer independence and the spell of hospitable and somewhat flattering treatment was rather too much for Mr. Hillegas.

His descriptions, however, of the typical Boer of to-

day will be taken as fairly accurate, and they exhibit the hopelessness of progressive civilization making headway among this type of population under the conditions of life they insist upon maintaining. He says:

"The Boer of to-day is a man who loves solitude above all things. He and his ancestors have enjoyed that chief product of South Africa for so many generations that it is his greatest delight to be alone. The nomadic spirit of the early settler courses in his veins, and will not be eradicated though cities be built up all around him and railroads hem him in on all sides.

"He loves to be out on the veldt, where nothing but the tall grass obstructs his view of the horizon, and his happiness is complete when gun in hand, he can stalk the buck or raise the covey on soil never upturned by the share of a plow. The real Boer is a real son of the soil. It is his natural environment, and he chafes when he is compelled to go where there are more than a dozen dwellings in the same square mile of area. The dress of the Boer is of the roughest description and materials, and suited to his occupation. The clothing, which is generally made by the Boer's vrouw, or wife, makes no pretension of fit or style, and is quite satisfactory to the wearer if it clings to the body. In most instances it is built on plans made and approved by the Voortrekkers of 1835, and quite satisfactory to the present Boers, their sons, and grandsons."

There is a little irony, not by any means intended, in Mr. Hillegas' description of the one and only important split in the Boer population, which might even remotely be considered a sign of a progressive spirit. This split occurred in 1883, on the weighty issue of whether or not hymns should be sung during religious service. One section, led by President Kruger, withdrew from the established church, where the custom of singing was making dangerous inroads, and started a more conservative branch which still stands for the utter exclusion of all such worldly innovations.

The author's description of the personality of Cecil Rhodes and his remarkable rise to wealth and power is very fascinating, and is really a well-done piece of character sketching. That in hardly more than fifteen years a young man of indifferent health and small means should

have become the controller of the destinies of a third of a continent, and amassed an immense fortune of which his annual salary of \$150,000 as manager of the great De Beers diamond mining company is but one incident, shows that the day of vast personal achievement has by no means disappeared, as the glorifiers of ancient mediævalism and chivalry would have us believe. Mr. Rhodes' star was temporarily obscured after the absurd Jameson fiasco, but the dawning success of his daring new project for a Cape-to-Cairo Railroad has brought him again nearly to the pinnacle of power and influence. Unquestionably, to a man of his characteristics and disposition, the union of all South Africa under British authority would be a welcome outcome of his efforts. But it is extremely doubtful if this could ever have been brought so near realization as now seems possible had it not been for the short-sighted attitude of the Boer government itself. It is even possible that when the present war is over the British home government will not feel that it can justify itself to civilization in abolishing the two Dutch republics in Africa, but will content itself with insisting upon equality of citizenship rights and a certain general suzerainty.

In conclusion we may quote briefly from Mr. Hillegas' description of Johannesburg to-day, indicating, as it seems to us, that there is at least some element of permanence in the foreign population which he elsewhere represents as of so utterly transient a nature that not one per cent. of them ever expect to remain in the country :

"The person who has spent several days in crossing the veldt and enters Johannesburg by night has a strange revelation before him when he is awakened the following morning. He has been led to believe that the city is a motley collection of corrugated iron hovels, hastily constructed cabins, and cheap public buildings. Instead he finds a beautiful city, with well-paved streets, magnificent buildings of stone and brick, expensive public buildings, and scores of palatial residences. Many Ameri-

can cities of the same size and many times older cannot show as costly buildings or as fine public works. Hotels of five and six stories and occupying, in several instances, almost entire blocks, are numerous; of office buildings costing a quarter of a million dollars each there are half a score; banks, shops, and newspapers have three and four buildings of brick and stone, while there are hundreds of other buildings that would be creditable to any large city in America or Europe."

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL

France and Italy. By Imbert de Saint-Amand. Translated by Elizabeth Gilbert Martin. Cloth, 352 pp. With portraits, decorated cover; \$1.50. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. This volume is devoted to the history of the war waged by France against Austria in behalf of Italy during the year 1859.

The Many-Sided Franklin. By Paul Leicester Ford. Cloth, 500 pp., 8vo. \$3.00. The Century Company, New York. This is a series of papers, first published in the *Century Magazine*, each dealing with Franklin in some specific aspect, as scientist, statesman, publisher, "jack of all trades," etc. The work is richly illustrated.

The History of the American Nation. By Andrew C. McLaughlin, University of Michigan. Cloth, 12mo. \$1.40 net. With maps and illustrations. D. Appleton & Company, New York.

The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America. By John Fiske. Cloth, crown 8vo, gilt top. With eight maps. 2 volumes. \$4.00. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York. This is a new instalment in the exhaustive American history series upon which Mr. Fiske is now engaged. It comes next in order after his "*Beginnings of New England*." It begins with the conditions of the Netherlands in the middle ages and ex-

tends down through the colonizing period in America as far as the eighteenth century.

DESCRIPTIVE

Present Day Egypt. By Frederic Courtland Penfield. Cloth, 8vo, 400 pp. Illustrated. \$2.50. The Century Company, New York. Mr. Penfield was the official representative of the United States at Cairo from 1893 to 1897, and his book is largely descriptive.

Oom Paul's People. By Howard C. Hillegas. Cloth, 12mo, 308 pp. With illustrations. \$1.50. D. Appleton & Company, New York. If the author's account of the Boers does not attract the reader it is certainly not because of any anti-Boer prejudice, because his sympathies are manifestly with the Transvaalers.

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL

Liberty in the Nineteenth Century. By Frederic May Holland, author of "The Rise of Intellectual Liberty." Cloth. 257 pp. \$1.75. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. Knickerbocker Press. This is a historical and philosophical study of the evolution of free institutions and free thought during the nineteenth century.

Monopolies and the People. By Charles Whiting Baker, C. E., Editor of *Engineering News*. Third edition, revised and enlarged. Cloth, 368 pp. \$1.50. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. Knickerbocker Press. Rather a lengthy but unsatisfactory treatise on the subject of industrial "monopoly," so called, presenting the nature of the problem, the history of large capitalistic integration, the benefits and defects, and proper attitude of the state toward trusts.

Discussions in Economics and Statistics. By Francis A. Walker, LL. D. Edited by Prof. Davis R. Dewey.

With portrait and index. Two volumes, 454 and 470 pp. 8vo, \$6.00 net. Henry Holt & Company, New York. The first volume includes discussion of finance and taxation, money and bimetallism, and economic theory; the second, statistics, national growth, and social economics.

The New Pacific. By Hubert Howe Bancroft. Cloth, 738 pp. The Bancroft Co., New York. This is a large book of thirty chapters, devoted to showing the new importance of the Pacific coast as the basis of commercial and "expansion" opportunities in the far East.

The Dividend to Labor. A Study of Employers' Welfare Institutions. By Nicholas Paine Gilman. Cloth, 400 pp. \$1.50. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York. A volume with both a scientific and practical aim. Its principal object is to furnish accurate information of profit-sharing and cooperative enterprises in the United States and several European countries. It is therefore in a sense supplementary to the same author's "Profit-Sharing between Employer and Employee."

EDUCATIONAL

Montaigne's "The Education of Children." Selected, translated and annotated by L. E. Rector, Ph. D. Cloth, 191 pp. \$1.00. D. Appleton & Co., New York. This is a new edition of Montaigne's well-known work, and forms one of the International Education Series edited by William T. Harris, U. S. Commissioner of Education.

FROM NOVEMBER MAGAZINES

"My own feeling is that the South will gradually reach the point where it will see the wisdom and the justice of enacting an educational or property qualification, or both, for voting, that shall be made to apply honestly to both races."—BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, in "The Case of the Negro;" *Atlantic Monthly*.

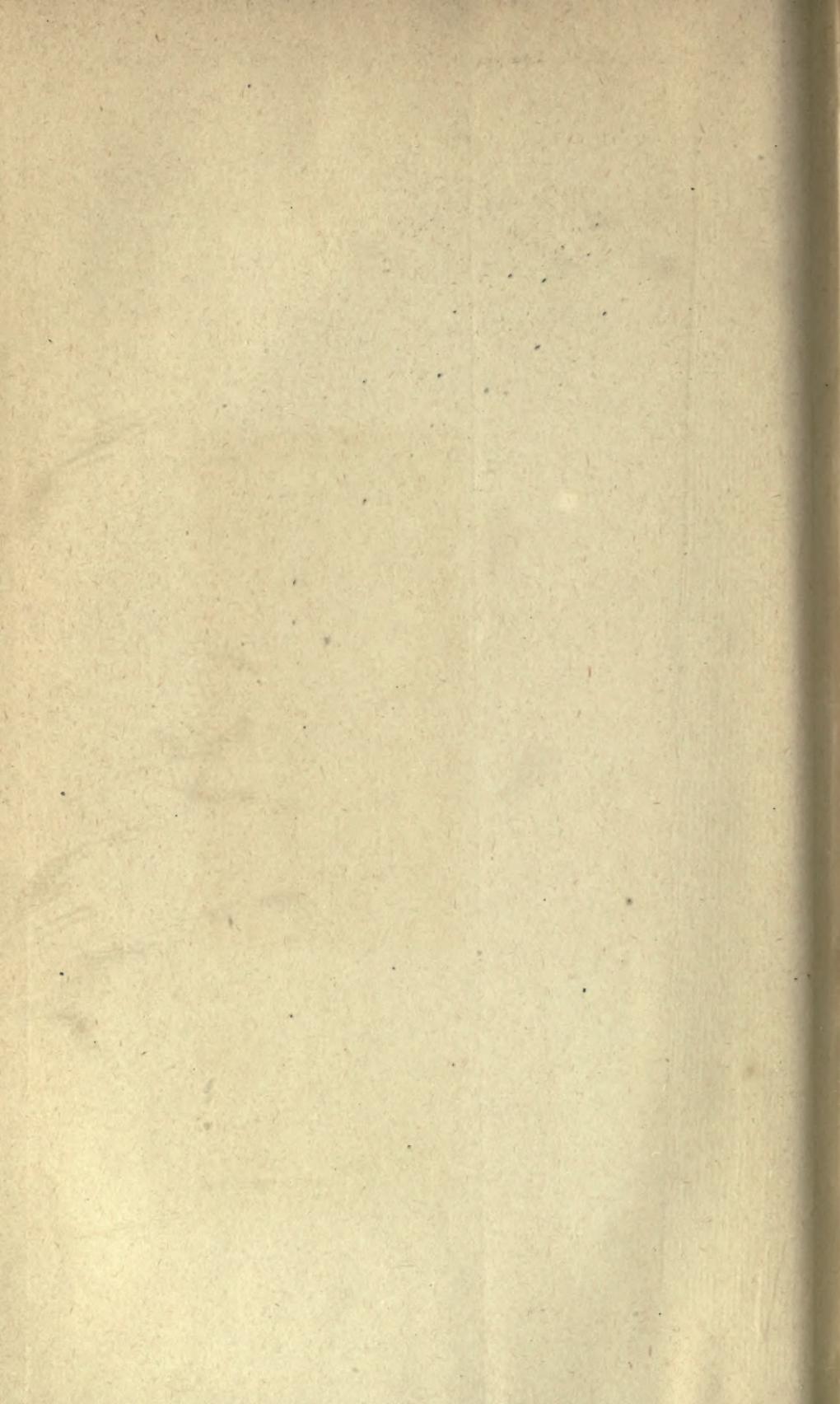
"With high-class Americans exercising a guiding and encouraging hand, there is no reason why eventually, with training and experience, the Filipinos should not attain all the privileges of absolute independence, and be protected from the dangers and limitations that its actual trial would entail. The more autonomy earned and merited by the Filipinos the better for us, as we shall escape the responsibility and evils of a large colonial staff appointed by political influence." HON. JOHN BARRETT, in "America in the Pacific and Far East;" *Harper's Magazine*.

"He put a king to death, but then he broke up Parliament after Parliament. He led the way in the violent suppression of bishops, he trampled on Scottish Presbytery, and set up a state system of his own; yet he is the idol of voluntary congregations and the free churches. He had little comprehension of that government by discussion which is now counted the secret of liberty; no man that ever lived was less of a pattern for working those constitutional charters which are the favorite guaranties of public rights in our century; his rule was the rule of the sword; yet his name stands first, half warrior, half saint, in the calendar of English-speaking democracy."—JOHN MORLEY, in "Oliver Cromwell;" *The Century Magazine*.

"Here and there, once in a great while, I saw

shoes upon the feet of men and women. I know now that these must have been men of the middle class or higher, and the women must have been Eurasians or white folk's nurses. Still less frequently I saw sandals—some being mere bits of leather tied on with strings. It would not be worth while to contradict a traveler who reported the whole empire as barefoot. The millions are so. . . . It is said by many that the plague travels on these same bare feet—that is to say, that its bacilli attack the natives there in cracks, scratches, or wounds, by means of which the germs, lying about in the dirt, get into the blood of the victims."—JULIAN RALPH, in "India's Threshold;" *Harper's Magazine*.

"There is a great deal of cant, in the present day, about the mischief of civilization and the superiority of noble savages and nomadic peoples; it is an echo of the false sentiment of Rousseau and his like, caught up by decadent voices; and it makes me tired. People speak at times as if the hurry of modern life and the rush of progress were crushing us all; as if the struggle for existence and the greed of gain were grinding away all that is soundest and happiest in human nature. But there are some of us who do not mean to sit down and whine, but prefer to be up and doing. The forces of modern civilization are grand powers which may be used for the good of man; they bring all the resources of the globe into circulation among all races, and they are not going to be held back. The only question is this: Are we going to let them run riot, or shall we master them? Are we going to let each adventurer do as he likes, wastefully and recklessly, or are we going to try to establish such orderly government that these forces shall be controlled, and their power for mischief limited?"—WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM, in "The Good Government of an Empire;" *Atlantic Monthly*.



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